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STUDIES IN THE RENAISSANCE

VOLUME III

THE RENAISSANCE SOCIETY OF AMERICA
1161 Amsterdam Avenue
New York 27

THE RENAISSANCE SOCIETY OF AMERICA

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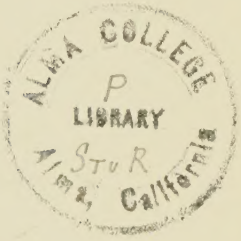
Edited by M. A. SHAABER



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Foreword

PART OF THE COST OF THE PUBLICATION of this volume of *Studies in the Renaissance* has been defrayed by gifts made for the purpose by Dr. Robert Woods Bliss and Mrs. John D. Gordan, to whom the society expresses its grateful appreciation.

The society is also indebted to the following members who, in addition to the Editorial Board, have read some of the material submitted for publication: Leicester Bradner, Allan G. Chester, Felix Gilbert, Julius S. Held, James Hutton, Marion Lawrence, Dean P. Lockwood, Linton C. Stevens.

A fourth volume of *Studies in the Renaissance* is scheduled for publication in the spring of 1957. Members who wish to submit papers for the consideration of the Editorial Board are invited to do so without delay.

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The Rise of Secular Drama in the Renaissance

THE REVIVAL OF THE DRAMA was not one of the accomplishments of the Renaissance. This revival had already taken place during the later Middle Ages, and by the twelfth century the plays connected with the festivals of the church had reached a considerable degree of complexity and dramatic effect. By the end of the fourteenth century the cycles of Biblical plays were well established, and in the fifteenth century they reached their greatest development. The rise of the moralities—those plays in which personified virtues and vices struggle for the possession of man's soul—also took place in the later Middle Ages, although the earliest references to them go back no further than the last quarter of the fourteenth century. It is true that this was already the age of Petrarch and Boccaccio, and there may be those who will claim the moralities as a Renaissance invention; yet allegory and personification are such typical medieval devices that it seems reasonable to suppose that the use of them as a framework for dramatic action must far antedate the year 1378. Indeed we know that allegorical figures were being inserted into Biblical dramas at least two centuries earlier. In the twelfth-century Latin play of *Antichrist* we find such characters as Heresy, Hypocrisy, Justice, and Mercy. The whole play, although purporting to be eschatological history, is in fact very close to the morality type.[1]

The important thing to remember about the Biblical plays and the moralities is that they were tremendously popular and that they spread all over Europe. In every country the people were accustomed, long before the Renaissance began, to seeing Christmas and Easter plays in the churches and to watching the unrolling of human history in the Biblical cycle plays in the summer. Besides this, many towns had plays devoted to the celebration of their patron saints. These plays were staged in various ways, all of them quite different from our modern indoor realistic picture stage. Sometimes the audience would be only in front of the players, as in scenes acted in the chancel of a church; sometimes they would be on three sides, as in

[1] For *Antichrist* see E. K. Chambers, *The Medieval Stage* (Oxford, 1903), II, 62. For the medieval background in general see also K. Young, *Drama of the Medieval Church* (Oxford, 1933); H. Craig, *English Religious Drama of the Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1955); G. Frank, *The Medieval French Drama* (Oxford, 1954); and M. Apollonio, *Storia del teatro italiano* (Florence, 1943). Almost nothing seems to be preserved of medieval Spanish drama. For this whole field, and for the early Renaissance also, W. Creizenach's monumental *Geschichte des neuren Dramas* (Halle, 1893–1903) is still worth consulting.

inn-yard productions; and when pageant-wagons were used the audience may have surrounded the players on every side.[2] Scenery was either entirely absent or was of a very sketchy sort. Verbal description and the imagination of the audience supplied the lack. Costuming, on the other hand, might sometimes be elaborate. And the unities of time, place, and action, beloved of Renaissance critics, had never been heard of.

Compared with the rich variety of story material in sixteenth-century drama the medieval range of subject matter was extremely limited. The Bible is full of fascinating human situations, but the dramatists selected only a few of these, and their choices were governed not by interest in character or action but by moral or dogmatic significance.[3] Similarly, in the moralities, where a wide variety of conflicts between different kinds of good and evil might be imagined, actually only a few situations were ever developed in the plays preserved to us.

Nevertheless the achievement of medieval drama was far from negligible. A vigorous acting tradition, suitable for appealing to popular audiences, was developed. Comic possibilities were seized upon, particularly if an opportunity for horse-play or beatings were present. And, most important of all, a considerable repertory of well-defined type characters was established. This repertory handed on to the Renaissance drama such acting parts as the proud tyrant (Herod and Pilate), the braggart soldier (the soldiers of Herod and of the high priests), the comic yokel (the shepherds at the Nativity), the witty servant, the shrewish wife, and many others. And the moralities popularized the devil as a semi-comic semi-serious character. Furthermore, the representatives of the various vices in the moralities were important precursors of the villains of later tragedy.

Such was the state of the drama when the Renaissance began. The new development was twofold. First, there was the increasing secularization of subject matter, and second, the influence of the revival of the classical drama, particularly the tragedy of Seneca and the comedy of Plautus and Terence. The first influence affected all of Europe; the second affected especially Italy and France.

In dealing with the early stages of secularization of the drama we are handicapped by the lack of documentary evidence. Liturgical plays and plays dealing with saints' lives were often written in service

[2] Recent scholarship on the use of pageant wagons suggests that they may often have been backed up to a wall, with the audience on three sides instead of four.

[3] In the very late medieval *Mystère du vieil Testament* there are plays on a great many Biblical characters, but this was not true of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

books or other ecclesiastical manuscripts, many of which still exist. Secular plays, on the other hand, were unlikely to be written down in manuscripts which would be carefully preserved. Consequently we have to make deductions from very fragmentary evidence. Even the religious plays, nevertheless, show early signs of secularizing influence. The twelfth-century Antichrist play, to which we have already referred, combined with its religious theme a defense of the emperors against the popes; and a play called *Adeodatus,* from the same century, tells a purely secular story which is only given a flavor of sanctity by the intervention of St. Nicholas. This device—the introduction of a saint as *deus ex machina* into an otherwise secular story —was one of the main bridges between medieval religious drama and Renaissance secular drama.

By the end of the fourteenth century the tempo of the change had obviously speeded up. In 1395 a play on the story of Griselda was acted in France, and shortly afterward we have plays from the medieval romances in Holland. In England there was the fourteenth-century *Dux Moraud,* an incest story with a moral ending. In Italy we have the *Ecerinis* of Mussato, about 1314, with a plot based upon recent history. Historical themes continue in the fifteenth century with a French play on Joan of Arc, another very recent event, an English play on King Robert of Sicily, and an immense French production of 30,000 lines on the fall of Troy. At the end of the century an English play, *Fulgens and Lucrece,* deals with the courting of a nobleman's daughter by two young men, one rich and dissolute and the other poor but virtuous. It is enlivened by a comic subplot about two servant boys and a serving maid. Spain also provides examples of secular drama by this time. Juan del Encina wrote a number of non-religious pastoral dialogues for the stage in the 1490s, and we find that the shepherds in the Spanish nativity plays were given an increasing number of semi-independent comic scenes similar to those of the English cycle plays.

The most extraordinary manifestation of secularity in the drama is found in the French farces of the fifteenth century. These short sketches of bourgeois vulgarity owed nothing to the religious drama. They appear to have developed from a desire to see fabliau themes acted out. Most of the extant texts appeared in the early sixteenth century, but it is obvious from many references and from the existence of such a highly developed specimen as *Maitre Patelin* in the third quarter of the fifteenth century that the type had flourished much earlier than this. Strangely enough, the first scene of the English

Second Shepherds' Play provides us with a most ingenious farce-comedy very early in the fifteenth century, yet no other examples are found in England for over a hundred years.

This process which we have been describing would in itself eventually have produced a well-developed completely secular drama in Europe. The progress of such a development was, however, tremendously accelerated by the revival of interest in the tragedies of Seneca and the comedies of Plautus and Terence. Although this revival spread all over Europe in the later Renaissance, its beginnings and its greatest influence were both in Italy. Literary imitation of Seneca had begun as far back as Mussato's *Ecerinis,* already mentioned, in the early fourteenth century and continued with Loschi's *Achilleis* (c. 1387) and Correr's *Progne* (c. 1428). None of these was acted, but they all observe the five-act structure, and *Progne* also observes the unities of time, place, and action. Much more influential on the development of the Renaissance theater was the revival and imitation of Latin comedy. This also at first was only closet drama, but quite a number of original Latin comedies, very lively and sometimes very immoral in character, were written during the first half of the fifteenth century. The best known of these was the *Chrysis* of Aeneas Sylvius, later Pope Pius II. In the final quarter of the century original Latin comedies by Tomasso Medio, Giovanni Armonio, Bartolomeo Zamberti, and others were being acted, sometimes with great splendor, at the courts of Florence, Rome, and Ferrara. Among the educated classes a taste for Roman comedy was built up to such an extent that when comedy in the vernacular began to be written by Ariosto, Machiavelli, and Aretino it was inevitable that it should be closely modeled upon the satirical middle-class comedy of Plautus and Terence. But it should be noted that the writing of original comedies of this type in Latin antedated by a whole century these writers in Italian.[4]

As a result of this careful study and imitation of Latin comedy for the whole previous century the first writers of vernacular comedy in Italy, as opposed to the pioneers of this art in other countries, found themselves the lucky possessors of a highly developed technique for producing a particular kind of play. And this kind of play could, in its own limited way, do much more than we sometimes think. Roman comedy was not dull, and the satirical attack on the middle class could be domesticated in Italy, as in other countries,

[4] For an account of the humanistic Latin drama see Creizenach's *Geschichte des neueren Dramas* and P. Van Tieghem's *Litterature latine de la Renaissance* (Paris, 1944).

easily enough in a period when that class was rising in wealth and power. Ariosto and Machiavelli did so with brilliant results. The *Suppositi* and *Negromante* of the former and the *Mandragola* of the latter are masterpieces of intrigue and satire. Their influence upon such a dramatist as Ben Jonson, who has a similar turn of mind, is obvious; but it should be noticed that Italy is one hundred years ahead of England in this genre. To object, as Symonds does, to Machiavelli's *Mandragola* that the author "left goodness out of his account" shows a failure to appreciate the nature of classical comedy. Goodness is intentionally left out of account in order that the writer may devote all his powers to exposing and attacking the vices and follies of mankind. Romantic comedy, in which goodness is made attractive, was not much practiced by Italian writers in the Renaissance, and this lack of variety in their work exposes the weakness of their exclusive devotion to classical models just as the triumphs of Ariosto and Machiavelli show its strength.

In tragedy the Italians did not succeed so well. Seneca is by no means so good a model for tragedy as Plautus is for comedy. His style, though it often has virtues as poetry, is not suitable for real dramatic dialogue, and his characters and plots are almost uniformly lurid. His devotion to compactness and consequently to the famous three unities was early observed by the Italians and was elevated by them into an invariable law of drama, buttressed as it was by Aristotle's remarks on the practice of Greek dramatists. The influence of Seneca might not have been so harmful if the Italian writers had proceeded to naturalize Seneca as they naturalized Plautus and Terence. The earliest Italian comedies dealt with Italian people living in Italian towns, but Italian tragedy, up until the middle of the sixteenth century, used almost entirely ancient classical stories.[5] When Cammelli, one of the very few exceptions to this rule, did take a story from the *Decameron* as the plot of a play in 1499 he felt it necessary to change the scene and the names to ancient Greece and to introduce the play by the ghost of Seneca. Most of the other tragedies of this period make use of the stories of such ancient heroines as Sophonisba, Dido, Cleopatra, and Tullia. When in 1541 Giraldi Cinthio produced his famous *Orbecche* at Ferrara he did turn to contemporary literature—to one of his own stories, in fact—for his plot, but it outdoes Seneca in horrors and the scene is laid not in

[5] The best accounts of Italian Renaissance drama in English are found in J. A. Symonds' *Renaissance in Italy* (London, 1875) and H. B. Charlton's *Senecan Tradition in Renaissance Tragedy* (Manchester, 1946).

Italy but in ancient Persia. Another of his tragedies taken from his own stories, the *Arrenopia,* is not so lurid, but the scene is laid in Scotland and Ireland. This is the play which was adapted by Robert Greene, possibly because of its setting, for his own tragicomedy of *James IV* some forty years later.

The influence of the revival of classical drama was strong in other countries too, but nowhere did it dominate the scene as it did in Italy. Elsewhere its greatest success was in France, where conditions closely paralleled those in Italy. Popular drama was suppressed, and the taste of the court and the upper classes was rigidly classical in imitation of the Italians. But comedy, which in one of its forms had reached a high peak in Italy, did not flourish in these circles. In England the Roman comedies began to be acted soon after 1500, but not until the middle of the century did they have any influence on the medieval types of drama still flourishing there. Original tragedies in Latin,[6] highly superior in structure and characterization to anything which had been written in English, began to appear there in the 1540s, yet in the sixties and seventies dramatists were still struggling with the problem of transferring such improved technique into plays in the vernacular. The problem was not solved until Kyd, Marlowe, and Greene came on the scene in the eighties. But Roman drama did leave its mark on England, even though the process was slow, in the five-act structure and in the increased coherence and compactness of plot. Furthermore, a number of the comic devices of Plautus—the beatings, the clever servants, and the braggarts, for instance—fitted in with and enforced the tradition of the moralities, while the cruel tyrants of Seneca were not new figures to an audience accustomed to the deeds and the rantings of Herod and Pilate.

In Spain the influence of the classical drama was closely tied up with the influence of Italian drama, and indeed the two influences were very similar and often hard to disentangle. This is well shown by the career of Torres Naharro, who spent most of his life in Italy but wrote comedies in the Spanish language which were collectively printed under the title *Propalladia* in Naples in 1517. These comedies sometimes imitate Plautus and sometimes Ariosto and Machiavelli, whose plays had just recently been acted. But since the two Italian writers had closely imitated Roman comedy themselves it is not always clear which source Torres Naharro had in mind. Often he probably was not thinking of a specific source but of the general type

[6] The only comprehensive account of these tragedies is found in F. S. Boas, *University Drama in the Tudor Age* (Oxford, 1914).

of comic situation found in all these plays. Like the Italians he used contemporary scenes and characters in his plays, and achieved a level of satirical realism little if any behind his masters. His Italian residence made it inevitable that he should use the five-act structure and observe the three unities, features not very often followed in later Spanish comedy. In the next generation this classical-Italian tradition was continued by Lope de Rueda, whose comedies are very similar in general characteristics to those of Torres Naharro. Tragedy in Spain, as in England, was a later development. Nothing significant in this form appeared until nearly 1580.[7]

This rapid survey of the humanistic influence shows that the influence of classical comedy was universal and was highly beneficial in giving good dramatic form and details of technique to the comic impulses already well developed in medieval mystery and morality plays. Its operation in Italy was so early and the prestige of the Italian writers so great that it is often impossible during the sixteenth century to determine whether a writer in one of the other countries is inspired by the Italians or by the Roman comic writers directly. In all countries except France the tradition of comic writing thus set in motion led immediately to the use of contemporary realistic materials rather than to slavish imitation of classical stories. The result, therefore, was to leave writers free to comment upon their own age while at the same time giving them valuable lessons in structure. In tragedy the classical influence had exactly the opposite effect. In Italy, France, and Spain the early tragedies were all on classical stories and were imitations of Seneca both in form and spirit. In England, on the other hand, tragedy developed so late that comparisons are not fruitful.

But in both Spain and England there was strong opposition to the more formal aspects of classicism. This opposition was strengthened by the great popularity of the medieval romances and ballads in these countries. People wished to see the fortunes of Amadis of Gaul, Guy of Warwick, Huon of Bordeaux, and the Seven Sons of Lara acted out upon the stage. Furthermore, in the new enthusiasm for *seeing* instead of reading their favorite stories, it was action they wanted, not an austere concentration upon one climactic day. Not only the medieval romances but also their successors, *Orlando Furioso* and *Jerusalem Delivered,* were popular subjects for stage presentations. The dramatists did not, in most cases, attempt the impossible task of putting a whole romance into one play. Some one strand of the plot or some single series of incidents was selected, and as long

[7] See J. P. W. Crawford, *Spanish Drama before Lope de Vega* (Philadelphia, 1937).

as there was plenty of action no one but the academic critics objected to the passage of time or change of scene. Even in severely classical France a play on Bradamante, the heroine of the *Orlando Furioso,* was written by Garnier.

A similar opposition to classical rules was set up by the interest in national history in England and Spain. In both of them the first examples appear about the middle of the sixteenth century, and production reached a flood tide in the 1590s. In England there was an inexhaustible appetite for straight history, combined of course with comic interludes. Whether the king in question had been successful or unsuccessful made little difference provided that his reign could supply a sufficient number of stirring incidents. *The Famous Victories of Henry V* or *The True Tragedy of Richard III* was equally acceptable. In Spain, on the other hand, history was regarded as a storehouse of romantic or tragic tales. Often these stories had already been celebrated in ballads, and the fate of the individual character was of more interest than the facts of national history. So central was this demand for historical material that in both countries the leading dramatists of the period scored some of their greatest successes in this field.

I have briefly indicated the elements which went into the making of Renaissance drama in the countries outside of Italy. What now is to be said of the mature culmination of that drama in the latter half of the sixteenth century and the first decade of the seventeenth? What were its triumphs and its failures, what were the characteristic marks of its masterpieces? With such a wealth of material before us these are not easy questions to answer. First of all, we may say that it was an expansive drama, suited to an age when the boundaries of knowledge and of the world's geography were being burst on all sides. The classics could give these writers a better sense of form but could not confine them within any strict limits of structure. Secondly, it was in the main what we call a romantic drama. Realism and restraint scored a triumph once in a while, as in the satirical comedies of Ben Jonson, but most of the great plays give evidence of a frank desire to exploit emotion and to set forth the glory of man in action upon the stage just as enthusiastically as Raphael, Titian, and Michelangelo had set it forth in painting and sculpture. Finally, and most characteristically, it was a drama in which sexual love took on a new aspect and a new importance. Love in classical comedy had sometimes ended in marriage, but more usually was concerned with mistresses and prostitutes, and in the few instances in which it entered into classical

tragedy, such as the *Agamemnon* of Aeschylus or the *Medea* of Euripides (or Seneca), the story was one of unfaithfulness and treachery. In the Renaissance, however, love was advanced to a more honorable estate. In the comedy of the sixteenth century, outside of Italy at any rate, love meant courtship and marriage. In tragedy, although themes involving the breaking of the marriage vow were not unknown, the more characteristic plots dealt with the conflict between love and fate (*Romeo and Juliet*), love and misunderstanding (*Othello*), or love and family honor (Lope's *Star of Seville*). On the whole it was romantic comedy which profited the most from the new conception of sexual love. Classical comedy had been more concerned with the outwitting of fathers and uncles than with the relation of the hero and heroine. Besides this, classical stage tradition limited the heroine's part very severely; sometimes she did not appear at all. Renaissance comedy provided the world with a new dramatic role, that of the witty and attractive young woman. And in the hands of Lope de Vega and Shakespeare the role became a major one.

The expansiveness and romanticism of the Renaissance drama are so well known, because so well illustrated by the plays generally read, that it is not necessary to establish these qualities by proof. We need only consider some of the outstanding examples and comment upon some of the national differences. It is in tragedy and tragicomedy that we find the Renaissance genius most characteristically expressing itself on the stage, and tragedy was a much later development than comedy. At the time when Italian comedy was at its height—the first decade of the sixteenth century—hardly any tragedies were written, and these few were of little value. Then in 1515 Trissino wrote his *Sofonisba* in imitation of the Greeks. But Greek tragedy was too austere for a generation which delighted in the romances of Boiardo and Ariosto on the one hand and were all too well acquainted with the bloodshed and treachery of the Borgias and the Franco-Italian wars on the other. The most successful tragic writer in Italy was Giraldi Cinthio, better known as a writer of tales, whose *Orbecche,* produced in 1541, enjoyed a sensational success and was praised by many later Renaissance critics. We do not need the references to Tantalus and Thyestes in the first act to make us aware that this is an imitation of Seneca rather than of the Greeks. The ghost of an adulterous queen, four murders, and one suicide, besides other miscellaneous horrors, show that the author's ambition was to outdo Seneca at his own game, especially as the final murder and suicide take place on the stage. The unities, however, are still preserved, and

the chorus gravely comments upon the action at the end of each act.

In the *Orbecche* and in sixteenth-century Italian tragedy in general there is little sense of life and reality in the characters to reward us for submitting ourselves to so much unrelieved crime, revenge, and bloodshed. A comparison of Cinthio's tragedies with those of John Webster, whose *Duchess of Malfi* and *White Devil* are on similar materials and have their scene laid in Italy, shows the difference at once. Webster's duchess, though she moves among horrors, remains a recognizable woman, possessed of patience and dignity, instead of becoming a vengeful murderous maniac. Similarly, Bosola, the tool of the villain, is given complex motivation and humanity enough to repent of his wickedness and turn upon his master at the end. Such a comparison as this also brings out the advantage of enlarging the time-scheme in tragedy. Webster is able to show us how his characters, driven by their conflicting personalities, got into their tragic dilemmas whereas in Cinthio we seem merely to see them as snarling beasts caught in a trap without being able to understand what brought them there. It is as though we knew Shakespeare's Macbeth or Othello only as each of them appears in the last act. It is in Italian tragedy rather than in Italian comedy that one might fairly make Symonds' criticism that "goodness has been left out of account".

In speaking of Webster we have advanced almost beyond the limits of our period. A more useful comparison can be made between Cinthio and Thomas Kyd, whose *Spanish Tragedy* was written about 1585. Kyd makes his villain a Machiavellian plotter, aiming at power and influence, rather than a man given over to violence and cruelty; and he makes his tragic hero an old man driven to revenge because justice is denied him for the murder of his son. Furthermore, the play is sweetened—and at the same time the tragic effect heightened —by the introduction of the first genuinely lyrical love-scene on the English stage, the scene in which Horatio and Belimperia meet by night in the garden. Although Kyd was accused by jealous rivals of relying too much upon Seneca, he has actually burst the bonds of Senecan influence and brought us into contact with real life. It is true that in the last act he outdoes the Italians in bloodshed, but the effect of the play is quite different from theirs. By giving up the unity of time he allows us to follow the development of the revenge plot with breathless interest. Instead of fastening all the attention upon a single situation and upon the theme, as the Greeks did, he focuses our thoughts upon the *development* of the situations and upon the characters themselves. What Elizabethan audiences remembered

was the character of the mad Hieronimo and the devilish scheming of Lorenzo. This becomes the pattern of Elizabethan tragedy, except that what Kyd did crudely Marlowe did much better and Shakespeare did surpassingly well. But it is still character portrayal and the development of situations that holds us in *Lear, Hamlet,* and *Othello.*

In Spain the tragedies and tragicomedies of Lope de Vega occupy a middle ground between the unrestrained romanticism of England and the doctrinaire Senecanism of Italy. While Lope was not a systematic follower of the unities he generally produced a fairly compact treatment of time and place. It is true that one of his latest tragedies, *Punishment without Vengeance,* borrows a revenge plot from the Italian *novelle,* but his characters are psychologically true to life and the final revenge is made to seem a subordinate detail compared to the sufferings which precede it. It is also true that in *The Star of Seville,* sometimes attributed to Lope, the action is sharply centered on one theme—love versus honor—yet the heroine's reaction to her tragic dilemma is not murder or frantic demands for revenge but a generous and self-sacrificing renunciation of both her love and her family pride. More in the English manner is the tragicomedy devoted to the famous Spanish ballad theme of the sons of Lara called *Mudarra the Bastard.* Here indeed is cruel injustice, with revenge coming into its own after long delays; but instead of Senecan gloom we find vigorous martial action with romantic ballad atmosphere. In Lope, however, we rarely find the true tragic qualm, the confrontation with the evil of life which really shakes us as it does in Sophocles and Shakespeare, where we see the protagonist utterly defeated in everything but nobility of spirit. Lope recognizes evil but almost always shows right and justice triumphing in the material as well as the spiritual world. His great defence of the common people against their oppressors in *The King the Greatest Alcalde* and *The Sheep Well* shows his vigorous social conscience and his belief in the moral character of Spanish kings. On the whole, we may note that it was the strong interest in national history and concern with the problems of the Spanish people which saved Spanish tragedy from the Senecan prison-house.

In France, as in Italy, the classical rules maintained full sway, and so in general did classical subject matter. Plays on Julius Caesar, Cleopatra, Sophonisba, and Medea, in five acts with choruses, formed the staple diet of the century. Jodelle's *Cléopatre* (1552) was one of the earliest and certainly the most famous of these. Garnier, whose classical tragedies appeared between 1568 and 1580, was the most

substantial writer. These classical tragedies are more lyrical and less horror-filled than those of the Italians, but to a modern reader they are equally dreary. In dealing with Biblical subjects the French dramatists were more successful. George Buchanan, a Scot teaching in Bordeaux, produced two good Biblical plays in Latin in the 1540s, one on John the Baptist and one on Jephtha's daughter. And in 1572 Jean de la Taille published one of the best French plays of the century, his *Saul le Furieux*. This tragedy, which observes the unity of time but not of place, contains excellent action and some really dramatic speeches. The scene in which the witch of Endor raises the spirit of Samuel to tell Saul his fate is very effectively done.

That it was strict imitation of Senecan form rather than the use of classical stories which caused the trouble in French and Italian tragedy can be abundantly illustrated from Shakespeare and Ben Jonson. In *Julius Caesar* and in *Antony and Cleopatra* Shakespeare showed how these well-worn commonplaces of ancient history could be made to spring into life for an audience. Gone are the moralizing choruses, gone are the long gloomy monologues, and the ghost—if he appears—is transformed from a prologue into a real character with a function in the action of the play. But most of all it is the characterization which has changed. Instead of monsters of vice we get real men and women who are convincing mixtures of good and bad motives, who command our respect and sympathy even when they bring about their own falls through grievous faults in their moral make-up. Especially in *Antony and Cleopatra* do we feel the tragic clash between competing values in life: the need for emotional fulfilment and the need that the world's work should be done. Antony, Cleopatra, and Octavius have all pushed their individual traits to an extreme but none is without compensating qualities. All three are fascinating studies in real human nature. Shakespeare's *Coriolanus* is nearer to Jonson's *Sejanus* than to his own other Roman plays. Coriolanus himself is a study in perverted and tortured pride, just as Jonson's protagonist is a study in political corruption. Yet both plays are intensely real; in fact, uncomfortably so. We dare not brush them away as monstrous imaginations which never had any counterpart in real life.

Even this brief excursion through Renaissance tragedy enables us to say with some confidence that the writers of this period did not in most cases have the kind of genius which can flourish and do its best work in any narrowly defined vehicle of art. And this statement, as we have so often been reminded, constitutes one of the major dif-

ferences between Renaissance tragedy and Greek tragedy. It is true that there are rare exceptions like *The Star of Seville* and *Othello*—and perhaps we might add the Beaumont and Fletcher *Maid's Tragedy*—where a high degree of concentration and a fairly close approximation to the three unities was attained, but these few plays do not alter the picture as a whole. Great as *Othello* is, it is much less typical of Shakespeare than *Macbeth, Hamlet,* and *King Lear.*

In comedy, however, one cannot make such an easy and sweeping contrast. Although romantic comedy is the typical Renaissance product, one nevertheless finds two or three great comic writers—Machiavelli, Aretino, Jonson—and at least two good minor ones—Torres Naharro and the author of *Gammer Gurton's Needle*—who seem to be pouring their full strength into the narrow compass of a classically constructed comedy without the slightest impairment of force. These men, of course, were satirists, to one degree or another. They can use the Plautine form, no matter how much they may change it to suit their own age, because they are at heart in accord with Plautus's desire to expose neatly and effectively the vices and follies of men. But in Machiavelli and Jonson there is a good deal more than this. There is a burning conviction that such things as the rottenness of the pre-reformation church or the innate avarice of mankind must be given no quarter. Jonson especially, in *Volpone,* gives us such a terrible revelation of the depths of evil in man that the play takes on some of the overtones of tragedy, and the scheming central character begins to assume the status of a scourge of God instead of a mere fraudulent money-getter.

Comedy of this kind is a natural development from the classics, but in romantic comedy, the comedy of courtship and marriage, the Renaissance produced, as we have said, something new. Satirical comedy is critical of life; it attacks evils, it urges men to look under the seemingly respectable surface of life and see what they find there. On the other hand, romantic comedy asserts the positive values of life. It selects for praise and illustration those things which are good, those attitudes and types of character which arouse our admiration or sympathy. Its end is marriage—the perpetuation of these qualities into the future through the begetting of children. If in the tragedies of the Renaissance we see its questionings, its conflicts, and its doubts reflected, we see in its comedies the mood of confidence in the new life it has created, confidence in the reality and permanence of human beauty, wit, and skill. And because these plays were all written by men and because the essence of the plays is courtship, it is principally

in women that these qualities are embodied and worshiped. The romantic comedy of Spain and England at this time is noted for glorious heroines, full of life and spirit and intelligence, so full of zest for living that they cannot help outwitting and bedevilling their handsome but unequal suitors in every kind of way that dramatists can think of. Classical comedy dealt by definition with the lower and middle classes, but the writers of the new romantic comedy had an ideal of womanhood to present and such an ideal as could only be expressed in all the gaiety and splendor of aristocratic surroundings. So their imaginations spared no expense and peopled the stage with creatures who would have been at home in the world of Castiglione's *Courtier* or of the great Italian portrait painters. This is the "brave new world" of the Renaissance, and only at the end of his career, well after 1600, did Shakespeare use this phrase with satirical irony in his *Tempest.*

Strangely enough, the Italy which could produce the heroines of the *Orlando Furiososo* and the eloquent court ladies of Castiglione failed completely to produce the kind of comedy we have been describing. To the Italians comedy meant first of all satirical comedy, where there was no place for virtuous women; and when, later in the century, we find plots dealing with respectable young ladies they are kept off the stage as much as possible. In these later comedies satire is replaced by love-intrigue, but the intrigue is still conducted in the most approved classical fashion by servants and parasites. It is a man's world, a world in which women may be prizes but not participants. Giambattista della Porta, who wrote in the 1590s when the Italian Renaissance was over, does allow some of his heroines to participate in romantic love scenes, but they are pale sentimental creatures when compared with Bradamante and Angelica in the *Orlando,* to say nothing of the heroines of Lope and Shakespeare.

The answer to this puzzle lies in the strength of the principle of literary decorum, the belief that certain types of action and certain types of character belong to one genre of literature and not to another. To the Renaissance Italian writer only one kind of comedy seemed proper—perhaps one might even say, seemed possible. One need go no further than Ariosto himself for proof of this. In the *Orlando Furioso* he created a whole gallery of attractive female characters, well-developed, interesting, and of infinite variety; yet when he wrote his comedies, excellent of their kind though they be, this side of his imagination was not used at all. The only women who appear in them are the usual bawds, nurses, and prostitutes of

classical comedy, and these appear only briefly. What was needed was the idea that there might be a new kind of play which would parallel the new kind of poem Ariosto had written. This the Italians were unable to imagine, and we must turn to Spain and England to observe the rise of romantic comedy.

In both these countries the first comedies of courtship and marriage appeared in the 1580s, and the masterpieces were produced in the two succeeding decades. Lope de Vega, who lived much longer than Shakespeare, continued writing later than this, and in England Beaumont and Fletcher, whose careers lay entirely in the seventeenth century, also continued the tradition into the new age. It is, however, clearly, a Renaissance invention, a kind of drama not known before in European literature. It arose from a merging of the sentimental elements in Terence with the medieval romances, the Italian *novelle,* and contemporary life. Terence provided the form, the others the materials. In Spain Lope de Vega is credited with having created almost single-handed this new kind of comedy and having brought it to perfection within a few years. In England it developed in a more complicated way from the court comedies of Lyly through the pseudo-history plays of Greene, with their appealing heroines, to Shakespeare. The finished product in both countries is remarkably similar: upper-class characters, clever and fascinating young women, rather foolish but likable young men, and witty servants. All these elements are fused and heightened by a poetry capable of great flexibility and eloquence. In Shakespeare this is obvious to English readers, but such readers must always remember, if they use translations of Lope's plays, that he also wrote in verse and in verse much more varied and lyrical than Shakespeare's.

It remains only to say a few words about the fate of the new romantic comedy in France. Here the climate of criticism was unfavorable to its development. Few specimens of it were written, and these few did not lead to anything. Such comic drama as there was derived its ideas and plots from Italy. Indeed, the only notable writer of comedies was an Italian-born dramatist, Giunti, who changed his name to Larrivé but did not change his literary characteristics, for his works are little more than translations from the drama of his native land. In Garnier's *Bradamante* (1582) we meet at last an exception to the general rule. In the first place he presents us with fresh modern plot material from Ariosto's poem instead of overworked classical themes. The gain is immediately apparent in more natural and lively characterization. Even more important is the

change from intrigues managed by servants to the conflict between love and duty among persons of high rank. In this play, as in his Biblical tragedy, *Les Juives,* Garnier showed an ability to create real dramatic values when freed from the restraint of classical imitation.

I should like to end by comparing Renaissance comedy and tragedy both as to quality and as to originality. The tragedy at its best, and particularly in Shakespeare, equalled but did not surpass the tragedy of ancient Greece. One cannot outdo *Antigone, Oedipus Rex,* or *Agamemnon;* one can only write great tragedy of an entirely different kind. The insight into human nature shown in *King Lear, Hamlet,* and *Macbeth* is quite as profound as that in Aeschylus and Sophocles but it finds its artistic expression in an entirely different conception of dramatic form. On the other hand, the romantic comedy of the Renaissance gave to the world a brilliant new type of drama which never existed before. Shakespeare's *As You Like It* and *Twelfth Night,* Lope's *The Gardener's Dog* and *A Certainty for a Doubt* have no counterparts in the comedy of either the Greeks or the Romans. Rosalind and Olivia are fresh new creations taken right out of the life of the Renaissance. Yet they are not dated. Their lineal descendants, with hardly a change of feature, though much change of costume, are still with us in the witty and sophisticated heroines of Wilde, Shaw, and Molnar. This, then, is the great achievement of Renaissance romantic comedy: to have created an ideal of womanhood so attractive and charming that the western world for three centuries has not been willing to let it die.

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A Rhetorical Pattern in Renaissance and Baroque Poetry

THANKS ESPECIALLY to the work of Professor Dámaso Alonso, the study of correlative poetry has made notable strides in recent years. He has concentrated mainly on Spanish and Italian poetry, but has made an excursus into Greek and Latin verse as well.[1] It goes without saying that the phenomenon is universal in its scope.

[1] His most important studies dealing with Spanish and Italian are "Versos plurimembres y poemas correlativos", *Revista de la biblioteca archivo y museo del ayuntamiento de Madrid,* III (1944), 89–191, and *Seis calas en la expresión literaria española* (Madrid, 1951) [published with the collaboration of Carlos Bousoño]. His article on this type of verse in Graeco-Latin literature, entitled "Antecedentes griegos y latinos de la poesía correlativa moderna", is in the *Estudios dedicados a Menéndez Pidal,* IV (Madrid, 1953), 3–23.

In *Seis calas* . . . (pp. 53–55), after quoting three examples of correlative poetry including this sonnet by Góngora:

> Ni en este monte (A_1), este aire (A_2), ni este río (A_3),
> corre fiera (B_1), vuela ave (B_2), pece nada (B_3),
> de quien con atención no sea escuchada
> la triste voz del triste llanto mío;
> y aunque en la fuerza sea del estío
> al viento mi querella encomendada,
> cuando a cada cual de ellos más le agrada
> fresca cueva (C_1), árbol verde (C_2), arroyo frío (C_3),
> a compasión movidos de mi llanto,
> dejan la sombra (D_1), el ramo (D_2) y la hondura (D_3),
> cual ya por escuchar el dulce canto
> de aquel que, de Strimón en la espesura,
> los suspendía cien mil veces. ¡Tanto
> puede mi mal y pudo su dulzura!

he supplies us with the following formula and explanation thereof which may be regarded as basic in any analysis of correlative poetry:

$$\begin{array}{llll} A_1 & A_2 & A_3 \ldots . & A_n \\ B_1 & B_2 & B_3 \ldots . & B_n \\ C_1 & C_2 & C_3 \ldots . & C_n \\ \ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots & & & \\ \ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots & & & \\ P_1 & P_2 & P_3 \ldots . & P_n \end{array}$$

"Llamamos 'pluralidad de correlación' (o simplemente 'pluralidad') a cada línea horizontal de esta fórmula. Por ejemplo: $B_1, B_2, B_3, \ldots . B_n$ es la segunda pluralidad de correlación. A la pluralidad que más claramente permite ver la relación entre los términos 1, 2, 3 . . . . *n*, la llamamos 'pluralidad básica,' o 'base'." Indicating that in the above-cited Góngora sonnet the base is *fiera-ave-pece* Prof. Alonso further explains that in his formula "A, designa el contenido conceptual genérico de la primera pluralidad; B, el de la segunda; C, el de la tercera; . . . . P, el de la última. El número de pluralidades es, por tanto, indeterminado. En cuanto a *n*, designa el número de conjuntos semejantes: si son sólo dos, el poema será 'bimembre'; si tres, 'trimembre', etc. Los subíndices (1, 2, 3, ... *n*) indican, pues, la modificación específica del concepto genérico correspondiente a la esfera ideológica de cada uno de los conjuntos, desde el 1 hasta el *n*. Por ejemplo: C_4 designará el contenido conceptual genérico de la tercera pluralidad con la modificación específica correspondiente a la esfera ideológica del conjunto 4.

"La fórmula general que acabamos de establecer es lo que permite reconocer la vinculación a un mismo sistema de una enorme cantidad de hechos estéticos que de otro modo nos parecerían totalmente distintos."

In this paper I am concerned with only one of the aspects of this poetry, the disseminative-recapitulative type, because both chronologically and geographically information on it can be extended further than hitherto, and because the influences that have played a primary role in establishing its vogue are still in need of being traced with a greater degree of precision. I shall deal with this type chiefly in connection with its vogue in the Romance-speaking countries and England during the Renaissance and baroque periods.

In its simplest form the formula may be expressed as follows:

$$A_1 \quad A_2 \quad A_3 \ldots\ldots A_n$$
$$A_1 \quad A_2 \quad A_3 \ldots\ldots A_n$$

the first series denoting the disseminated members and the second a recapitulation of these members. In one of the sonnets of Sidney:

> In wonted walks, since wonted fancies change,
> Some cause there is, which of strange cause doth rise;
> For in each thing whereto my eye doth range,
> Part of my pain, me seems, engravèd lies.
> The rocks (A_1), which were of constant mind the mark,
> In climbing steep, now hard refusal show;
> And shading woods (A_2) seem now my sun to dark;
> And stately hills (A_3) disdain to look so low.
> The restful caves (A_4), now restless visions give;
> In dales (A_5), I see each way a hard ascent;
> Like late mown meads (A_6), late cut from joy I live,
> Alas, sweet brooks (A_7) do in my tears augment.
> Rocks (A_1), woods (A_2), hills (A_3), caves (A_4),
> dales (A_5), meads (A_6), brooks (A_7) answer me:
> Infected minds infect each thing they see.
> (*Elizabethan Sonnets,* ed. S. Lee, New York, 1904, I, 120–21)

the disseminated members are those labelled A_1, A_2, A_3, A_4, A_5, A_6, A_7, all of which are recapitulated at the end of the poem.

The earliest examples as yet brought to light are two satirical epigrams by Lucilius which appear in the *Planudean Anthology*. I shall cite epigram 239 of Book XI:

> Οὔτε Χίμαιρα τοιοῦτον ἔπνει κακὸν ἡ καθ' Ὅμηρον,
> οὐκ ἀγέλη ταύρων, ὡς ὁ λόγος, πυριπνους,
> οὐ Λῆμνος σύμπασα καὶ Ἀρπυιῶν τὰ περισσά,
> οὐδ' ὁ Φιλοκτήτου ποὺς ἀποσηπόμενος.
> ὥστε σε παμψηφεὶ νικᾷν, Τελέσιλλα, Χιμαίρας,
> σηπεδόνας, ταύρους, ὄρνεα, Λημνιάδας.[2]

[2] Paton's translation in *The Greek Anthology* (London-New York, 1916–1918), iv, 185, reads as follows:

"Not Homer's Chimaera breathed such foul breath, not the fire-breathing herd of bulls

Other early surviving instances of the device that have so far been corded are surprisingly few in number—one example each by Martial, Cyrus the Consul, Tiberianus, and, in the Carolingian period, Walahfrid Strabo. After Strabo there is an extremely long hiatus until we reach the end of the fifteenth century and the opening of the sixteenth. Despite this, however, Professor E. R. Curtius in "Mittelalterlicher und Barocker Dichtungsstil" (*Modern Philology,* XXXVIII, 1940–41, 331), believes in the existence of some missing links which would, if found, establish the evolving tradition of the artifice.[3] He fails to mention in support of his hypothesis a famous ten-line epigram widely attributed to Pulce or Pulci da Custoza who lived during the middle part of the fourteenth century.

Cum mea me genetrix gravida gestaret in alvo,
qui pararet fertur consuluisse deos.
Mas est, Phoebus ait; Mars, foemina; Junoque neutrum.
Cumque forem natus, hermaphroditus eram.
Quaerenti lethum, Juno sic ait, occidet armis;
Mars, cruce; Phoebus, aquis; Sors rata quaeque fuit.
Arbor obdumbrat aquas; ascendo; decidit ensis
quem tuleram casu labor et ipse super.
Pes haesit ramis, caput incidit amne; tulique
foemina, vir, neutrum, flumina, tela, crucem.

(From Poliziano, *Prose volgari inedite e poesie latine e greche,* ed. Del Lungo, Firenze, 1867, p. 221)

Its pattern, A_1 (*mas*), A_2 (*foemina*), A_3 (*neutrum*), B_1 (*crucis*), B_2 (*aquis*), B_3 (*armis*), was destined to have some influence upon other examples during the Renaissance. The same epigram is ascribed to Hildebert of Lavardin by Migne in the *Patrologia Latina,* Vol. 171, col. 1446, as well as another poem on the theme beginning *Uxor Thyresiae dum pleno ventre tumeret . . .* (col. 1445), in which case, if the ascription is correct, the date of its first appearance should be set back to the twelfth century.

Another poem likewise ascribed to Hildebert is

Forte nemus lustrabat homo, fera forte redibat
Plena, latens anguis forte jacebat humi.

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of which they tell, not all Lemnos nor the excrements of the Harpies, nor Philoctetes' putrefying foot. So that in universal estimation, Telesilla, you surpass Chimaerae, rotting sores, bulls, birds, and the women of Lemnos."

This epigram is cited by Prof. Alonso in "Antecedentes . . .", p. 16. He omits mention of the fact that Lucilius also makes use of the device in Epigram 131, Book XI of *The Greek Anthology.*

[3] See also his *Europäische Literatur und lateinisches Mittelalter* (Berne, 1948), pp. 291–92.

In pecudem pariter oculum cum cuspide misit
Rusticus, agnovit missa sagitta manum.
Hasta feram sternit, anguem fera comprimit, anguis
Tabem fundit; ea tabe necatur homo.
Ossa vorando, locum calcando, vomendo venenum,
Vir jaculo, pede sus, vipera tabe nocet.
Saucia contrita, sparsus telo, pede, viru,
Bestia, vipera, vir, sternitur, aret, obit.
(*ibid.*, col. 1446)

This, too, is composed of two tri-membered series, A_1, A_2, A_3 (snake, man, beast) and B_1, B_2, B_3 (spear, foot, venom), which are reiterated. Both series are recapitulated in the closing verse, the first in the form of substantives and the second in the form of verbs which replace the nouns.

Insofar as the late Quattrocento and early Cinquecento are concerned, Professor Curtius furnishes us with but a single example from Pamphilo Sasso, *Col tempo il villanel . . .*, while Professor Alonso adds two more from Serafino Aquilano: *Castel da crudel . . .* and *In un mar . . .* (*Opere,* Firenze, 1516, pp. 167–68).[4] There is, as a matter of fact, a larger group of Italian Quattrocentist compositions employing the device which it is essential to take into account. Sasso, for instance, furnishes a second example in the following sonnet:

L'incanto fa il sordo aspe obediente,
rompe le dure pietre, abassa i monti.
L'incanto ferma i fiumi, e secha i fonti,
obscura el sol di stade in oriente.
L'incanto el mar turbato fa la gente
passar sencia ale, sencia nave i ponti.
L'incanto fa doi tigri insieme aggionti
portar el duro giogo humanamente.
L'incanto può dal ciel tirar la luna,
l'antica etade alla nova tornare.
L'incanto vince amore e la fortuna,
e non po la tua mente aspra mutare,
unde, passi di orgoglio, in el mondo una,
monti, fiumi, aspi, tigri, pietre e mare.
(*Opere,* Venetia, 1519, ciiii)

Here is another Aquilano specimen which may be added to the two already mentioned:

L'acqua che da mie ochi scende & piove
ramorza el foco ch'al mio cor s'accende;

[4] Quoted in "Versos plurimembres . . .", p. 80.

el foco contra l'acqua fa gran prove
che per forza l'asciuta & non ostende;
& l'acqua con furor vèr me rimove
sopra del petto mio su l'acqua estende;
lasso che son pur stato vinto in terra
che l'acqua e 'l foco sempre mi fan guerra.
(*Rime,* ed. Menghini, Bologna, 1894, pp. xlv–xlvi)

In this the poet introduces a seemingly novel feature by twice recapitulating the disseminated unit *acqua-foco.*

Another famous Quattrocentist, Tebaldeo, used the device at least twice.

Hermes, dum loqueris, dum rides, Marce, Cupido es,
Mars es, ubi arma capis; tresque refers Superos.
Mars, Amor, Hermes, prosternis, succendis, inundas,
Hostem, Erycinam, aures, vi, facie, eloquio.
(*Delitiae CC Poetarum Italorum,* Francfort, 1608, II, 1148)

Spernit Amor leges; Nox est ignara pudoris;
Nec metuit Bacchus; tres mihi sunt comites.
Lege, pudore, metu careo: in tua limina, Lygda,
Conjurant pariter Nox, Amor, et Bromius.
(*ibid.,* p. 1149)

An imperfect illustration, but one that is worthy of being noticed, is an epitaph by Marullus on Mathias Corvino:

Legibus imperioque aucto bellique domique,
vix reliquus laudi iam locus ullus erat,
at postquam Aonidum studia accessere benigna,
'Ulterius' dixi 'nil dare cura potest.'
Ulterius das ipse tamen, crescenteque passim
plebe nova, e proprio tecta domosque paras,
sic ope, sancte, tua, patriae pater, undique leges
crescunt, regna, artes, plebs nova, tecta nova.
(*Carmina,* ed. Perosa, Turici, 1951, p. 93)

Eurialo Morani, an obscure Quattrocentist from Ascoli, likewise provides a poem in Latin:

Chaoniam legitis natam Iovis arbore glandem
Legiferae et segetes munera sacra deae.
Vos ulmos et apes, complentes nectare cellas,
Et legitis tardos laeta per arva boves.
Vos et equum legitis, qui frena sonantia mandit,
Vos arva et carpens gramina pingue pecus.

Sed mihi quid prodest audire haec, si mihi desunt
Glans, seges, ulmus, apes, bos, equus, arva, pecus?
(*Anthologia veterum Latinorum epigrammatum et poematum,* ed. H. Meyer, Leipzig, 1835, II, 185).

Philoxeno, placing the disseminated members in an initial position, employs the device in a strambotto:

Amor me ha acceso de tua gran belleza
fortuna ognhor da te mi ten lontano
il ciel me priuò al nascer de richeza
natura m'ha creato turpe e strano
morte ognhor chiamo: e quella mi dispreza
per far che ogni disegno mio sia uano.
così han jurato de stentarmi forte
amor: fortuna: il ciel: natura: e morte.
(*Sylve,* Venetia, 1515, avii)

Altissimo (Cristoforo Fiorentino) constructs one of his *strambotti* on a pattern that closely follows the Lucilius procedure:

Non ha la terra tanti arbori o herbe
quanto son mie speranze d'error piene,
non ha tante onde il mar salse e acerbe
quanto de gl'occhi miei tristo humor viene,
più sono i miei sospir ch'alle superbe
fronti de' venti non voltonsi arene,
più che ha 'l ciel stelle, fiamm'ha 'l mio cor mero,
così ardo, sospiro, lacrimo, e spero.
(*Strambotti e sonetti dell'Altissimo,* ed. Renier, Torino, 1886, p. 6)

There is some probability that the following anonymous sonnet also belongs to the period:

Vorrei saper da uoi come gl'è fatta
questa rete d'Amor che tanti ha presi,
come può circondar tanti paesi,
e come il tempo mai non l'ha disfatta?
E se gl'è ceco Amor, come s'adatta
a far gli stral da sè di fuoco accesi,
e tanti che ne spende, e che n'ha spesi
vorrei saper da uoi da chi gl'accatta?
E se gl'è ver quel ch'han detto i poeti
ch'un man l'arco tien, l'altra la face,
come puote operare ne stral ne rete?
Ma dica pur chi vuol quel che gli piace

che l'arco, el stral, la face e le sue reti
sol è un bel uolto che diletta e piace.
(MS. 1251, 32v, Biblio. Universitaria, Bologna)

However, the Quattrocentist who was perhaps most attracted to the formula is Girolamo Angeriano. He supplies us with more than a half dozen examples in his Ερωτοπαιγνιον (Naples, 1520): *Attolis coelo* . . . (aiiij^{v}), *Coelia cui tantum* . . . (aiiij), *In terris quum* . . . (biij), *Omne olim caelum* . . . (b), *Servat aquas* . . . (f, fij), *Sunt duri scopuli* . . . (bij), *Sunt geminae Veneres* . . . (aiii). Only two of these compositions will be cited:

Sunt duri scopuli, sunt dura & marmora, durum
Et ferrum, in summis robora dura iugis.
Sunt duræ rupes, sunt antra, & cornua dura,
Atq; adamas durus, durum hyemale gelu.
Durior at scopulis mea Cælia, marmore, ferro,
Robore, rupe, antro, cornu, adamante, gelu.

and

Attolis cœlo si lumina, sydera gaudent.
Si terræ affigis lumina, terra calet.
Fronte Venus fulget, si claudis lumina, nudus,
Lumina si pandis, cum face sæuit amor.
Lumina si cælas, mœret sine sydere cœlum,
Terra calore, Venus fronte, Cupido face.

While the first is composed of one unit of eight members which are recapitulated at the end, the most common of the early patterns, the second introduces an innovation in its tri-membered unit, each member of which is formed of two elements. Both of these are brought together in the closing line. This sub-type has had a limited currency.

Now if we bunch with these Quattrocentist verses the Lucilius and Cyrus examples that became available with the first printings of the *Planudean Anthology* (Florence, 1494, and Venice, 1502), the short Martial composition appearing in various editions of his poems, and the versions of the Pulci hermaphrodite epigram in Greek and Latin by Politian, in Greek by Lascaris, and in Italian by an anonymous translator,[5] we have before us the first sizable cluster of dis-

[5] Angeriano is, incidentally, heavily indebted to *The Greek Anthology*. At least thirty of his poems have been traced to it. See James Hutton, *The Greek Anthology in Italy* (Ithaca, N. Y., 1935), pp. 169–70. For the Pulci versions see *Prose volgari* . . . , pp. 222–23, and Carducci's anthology, *Epigrammi di autori latini* (Bologna, 1881).

seminative-recapitulative poems exhibited on the European literary scene. The number of imitations which they collectively inspired subsequently gives them an importance far beyond their actual artistic worth.

Though I have not encountered any open statement regarding the attitude of the sixteenth-century Italian Petrarchists towards the formula, it is nevertheless clear that it was tacitly viewed as a characteristic product of Quattrocentism, and that as such it was boycotted by the Bembist reaction, a condition which prevailed roughly between 1525 and 1575 despite the gradual relaxation of Bembian authority and growing affectation. Otherwise it would be difficult to explain why in the vast repertoire of the time the number of examples is so negligible as to pass without notice. After a prolonged search among the Petrarchistic collections published during this interval, I have succeeded in unearthing only two examples: a sonnet by Giovanni Evangelista Armenini, *Quando ratta sen corre . . .* (*Rime diverse,* VI, Venetia, 1552), with recapitulation in *l'oriente, l'occaso e 'l mezzogiorno,* and a sonnet by Pietro Gradenico, *Veggio spogliar . . .* (Atanagi ed. of *Delle Rime di diversi nobili poeti toscani,* II, Venetia, 1565), with the recapitulatory verse: *per rive e prati e selve e poggi e valli.*[6] Nor was the artifice able to find embodiment in the neo-Latin poetry of the epoch except on the rarest of occasions such as Ariosto's epitaph: *Quis iacet hoc gelido . . .* (*Lirica,* ed. Fatini, Bari, 1924, p. 231), Benedetto Lampridio's *Candida sunt nivei . . .* (*Delitiae,* I, 1183–84), and Francesco Franchini's imitation from the *Greek Anthology,* V, 147, *Floribus intextam . . .* (*Delitiae,* I, 1134). An eight-line composition by G. M. Toscano, also in neo-Latin, is perhaps striking enough to deserve quotation in full.

Aspectu liquificata tuo mea lumina manant,
Quale repercussae sole tepente nives.
Ut scopus a telis per inane fugacibus, ictus,
Excipiunt oculis pectora nostra tuis.
Afflatu mea vita tuo vanescit in auras,
Ut Boreae nebulas dissipit aura leves.

[6] The Petrarchists did, of course, handle the sestina, which is also based on the disseminative-recapitulative principle, its six rime-words being collected in pairs in the three final verses of the poem. The position of its unit-members is fixed while the recapitulation is spread out rather than condensed. On the other hand, the other type permits a maximum of freedom in the dissemination of the members but concentrates them in a single agglomeration when they are recapitulated. One represents a medieval pattern, the other a classical one. Both move in their own separate channels; their paths seldom cross. As the sestina-type has virtually nothing to contribute to this discussion, only one brief passing reference will be made to it later on.

Sol, jaculum, ventus, perstringit, transfigit, aufert
Igne, acie, flabro, lumina, corque, animam.
(*Carmina illustrium poetarum italorum,* I,
Lutetiae, 1576, 55v–56r)[7]

It is based on the pattern

A_1 A_2 A_3
B_1 B_2 B_3
A_1 A_2 A_3
A_1 A_2 A_3 B_1 B_2 B_3 (recapitulation).

Attributes of the substantives and synonymous expressions are employed by the author in the elaboration of his formula.

The disseminative-recapitulative device also occurs unexpectedly in a passage in Tasso's *Aminta* (I. i) forming part of Dafne's exaltation of the omnipotence of love, specifically the section imitated from Ovid's *Ars Amatoria,* II, 481 ff.

La biscia or lascia il suo veleno e corre
Cupida al suo amatore.
Van le tigri in amore,
Ama il leon superbo; e tu sol, fera
Più che tutte le fere,
Albergo gli dineghi ne 'l tuo petto.
Ma che dico leoni e tigri e serpi
Che pur han sentimento? amano ancora
Gli arbori. Veder puoi con quanto affetto
E con quanti iterati abbracciamenti
La vite s'avviticchia a 'l suo marito;
L'abete ama l'abete, il pino il pino,
L'orno per l'orno, e per la salce il salce,
E l'un per l'altro faggio arde e sospira.
Quella quercia, che pare
Sì ruvida e selvaggia,
sente anch'ella il potere
de l'amoroso foco; e se tu avessi
spirto e senso d'amore, intenderesti
i suoi muti sospiri. Or tu da meno
esser vuoi de le piante,
per non esser amante?

In introducing the device here Tasso gives it an original variation. While the three animal members of the disseminated unit are

[7] Prof. James Hutton has generously supplied me with the references to Hildebert, Tebaldeo, Lampridio, and Toscano.

recapitulated individually in keeping with the established convention, the plant-members are recapitulated by a single collective term, *piante*.

The round of applause elicited by the *Aminta* had hardly died out when, suddenly, a throng of examples made their appearance, all from the fertile pen of one man, Luigi Groto, a genuine epigone of the Quattrocentists. The first edition of his *Rime* is dated 1577. They are: *A duo begli occhi . . .* (*Rime,* Venice, 1587, p. 84), *A una gravida madre . . .* (Piacenza, 1602, p. 156), *Di produr perle Arabia . . .* (1587 ed., p. 65), *Gli elementi . . .* (1587 ed., p. 54), *I fior pigliano . . .* (1587 ed., p. 30), *Lo tuo petto . . .* (1587 ed., p. 34), *Mentre la tua beltà . . .* (1602 ed., p. 12), *Non d'Augusto . . .* (1602 ed., p. 10), *Poichè da gl'occhi miei . . .* (1602 ed., p. 86), *Quando caduto . . .* (1602 ed., p. 157), *Quand'io vagheggio . . .* (1602 ed., p. 53).[8]

Though Groto repeats the simple forms of his affected predecessors, as in the composition:

Gli elementi, ond'ha vita ognun di noi
Si consumano in me, donna, per voi.
Il foco appoggio al natural calore,
Si spegne à quel, con cui m'infiamma amore,
L'aer, che fà, ch'io spiri,
Si consuma in sospiri.
L'acqua, che ministrar gli humor costuma,
In pianto si consuma.
La terra, ond'ho le membra, in preghi, e'n passi,
Per piani, e poggi consumando vassi.
Così la vostra inessorabil guerra
In me consuma Foco, Aere, Acqua, e Terra.

he also indulges in more complicated geometrical patterns such as:

I fior pigliano odor, s'iui t'abbassi,
Le fronde, a l'andar tuo, rendono honore,
L'herbe dal tuo apparir, prendon colore,
L'ombre, liete si fan, se tra lor passi.
Gli antri, se suoni, empion di gioia i sassi,
L'acque, se canti, accendonsi d'amore
L'aure se ridi, ardon di dolce ardore.
L'onde nel tuo mirar fermano i passi.
L'aere, se parli, acqueta i nembi, e i tuoni,
L'arte col tuo pensare ornando viensi
Così senton le gratie in te cosparte.

[8] From the Venice, 1610, edition Dámaso Alonso in "Versos plurimembres . . .", p. 136, cites two sonnets from part II, pp. 26 and 214, with recapitulations respectively in *L'occhio, l'audito, l'odorato e 'l gusto* and *Ghiaccio, foco, arco, sol, ferro, aura, hasta, onde.*

(S'abassi, vai, appari, passi, suoni,
Se canti, ridi, miri, parli, pensi)
Fior, fronde, herbe, ombre, antri, acque, aure, onde, aer, arte.

This is composed of units involving two elements—A_1 a_1 A_2 a_2 A_3 a_3 A_4 a_4 A_5 a_5 A_6 a_6—both being collected in a double series in the closing tercet. This novel procedure was quickly borrowed by a number of writers during the baroque age.

In another instance, which likewise found imitators, he presents us with an eight-member pattern consisting of *perle, sole, oro, alabastro, avorio, latte, hebano, rose,* which is recapitulated in the last two lines of the first tercet and then again in the final line, where ordinary equivalents are substituted for those which have just been listed metaphorically:

Di produr perle Arabia non si vanti
Più, nè più 'l Gange, onde il Sol nouo ascende,
Nè il Tago più, che di fin' oro splende,
Nè di Alabastri pien l'Egeo si canti.
Nè Libia, oue l'Auorio han gli elefanti:
Nè l'Arcadia, che latte ogni hora apprende,
Nè l'India che il pregiato Hebano rende,
Nè pesto oue hanno ogn'hor rose gli amanti.
Sola Hadria tutti questi honor giunti habbia,
Che perle, Sole, oro, Alabastro, Auorio,
Latte, Hebano produce insieme, e rose
Onde le membra di colei compose,
Per cui languisco, o del languir mi glorio.
Denti, occhi, crin, sen, man, piè, ciglia, e labia.

Nor does he miss imitating Pulci's intricately-fashioned epigram in *A una gravida madre . . .* A companion-piece similarly complicated is entitled "Morti quattro diversi", beginning *Quando caduto . . . ,* which may have an original quite as old as the Pulci rime.

However, aside from Groto, other Italians continued to pay rather scant heed to the device. Even Marino, who was well acquainted with the Cieco d'Adria's verse (cf. *Porta intorno Madonna . . . , Lira,* Pte. II, Venetia, 1638, p. 82 and Groto's *S'avien che reticella aura circonde . . . , Rime,* 1587, p. 25) shows restraint in adopting it notwithstanding his rhetorical effusiveness. He uses it in two examples in his *Lira: Ne tanto intorno a sè dentro e di fore . . .* (Pte. I, 52) and *Io parto, sì, ma parte . . .* (Pte. II, 82). Neither do the *lirici marinisti* seem unduly drawn to it. Examples of two of them which I have picked up are *Quando al lido del mar . . .* by Federico

Meninni (*Opere scelte di G. B. Marino e dei marinisti,* a cura di G. Getto, Torino, 1954, II, 428) and a *canzone* by Guido Casoni, *Fulvia fu la vita . . .* (*ibid.,* II, 472), in which its twenty-three disseminative members are collected as follows at the close of the poem:

Così tua vita breve
fu tra noi riso, pianto, alba, vapore,
lampo, ombra, voce, fiore,
nebbia, folgore, sogno, aura, eco, neve,
stella, iri, tempo, fronda,
fumo, volo, sospir, polvere e onda.

It is one of the longest recapitulations on record.

French Renaissance examples of the disseminative-recapitulative type of verse start off with imitations of the Italian Quattrocentists. Melin de Sainct-Gelays in a dixain imitates and improves the *strambotto* by Philoxeno already cited:

Fortune monstre assez sa cruaulté
En m'esloignant du lieu ou gist mon cueur;
Amour me rend serf de vive beaulté
Et n'adoulcist vostre extresme rigueur;
Le Ciel n'a point pitié de ma langueur;
Nature aussy ne m'a pas figuré
Pour estre à vous en grace mesuré.
La Mort souhaite et Mort de moy n'a cure;
Contre moy donc ensemble ont conjuré
Fortune, Amour, le Ciel, Mort et Nature.
(*Oeuvres complètes,* ed. Blanchemain, Paris, 1873, III, 5)

Following the same pattern, but more original in subject-matter is his *Qui plus tost . . .* (p. 4).

Maurice Scève, who abundantly imitated the Italian Quattrocentists Angeriano, Sasso, and especially Aquilano, could hardly have failed to derive from them the formula employed in four of his dixains—*Amour me presse . . .* (*Délie,* ed. Parturier, Paris, 1916, p. 130), *Le corps travaille . . .* (pp. 45–46), *Fortune forte . . .* (pp. 79–80), *Nature au ciel . . .* (pp. 300–01).

In addition to the examples in these two writers, the members of the Pléiade were undoubtedly familiar with those printed in the rime-collections of their Quattrocentist neighbors in Italy.[9] Among the speci-

[9] The most easily accessible of these authors must have been Angeriano whose Ερωτοπαιγνιον was published at least five times in the space of a few years—Florence, 1512, Naples, 1520, Paris, 1520?, Paris, 1525?, Paris, 1530? (interrogation marks show probable dates of publication assigned to these editions in the British Museum catalogue). On possible traces of Angeriano in Ronsard, see Addamiano, *Il rinascimento in Francia: Pietro*

mens they furnish are *Oh fleuve heureux* . . . and *Pallas, Lucine* . . . by Du Bellay; *Ciel, air et vents* . . . , *Escoute, mon Aurat* . . . . , and *Le Destin veut* . . . by Ronsard; *Amour, où sont tes arcs* . . . by Baïf; *Mon esprit ha heureusement porté* . . . by Tyard.[10] All of these follow the simple pattern then most in vogue. Belleau, however, makes his sample somewhat more ornate in his *Amour estant lassé* . . . He uses a six-member unit: *arcs, flamme, traits, ailes, carquois, bandeau* in the first quatrain, repeats the same in the second quatrain and the first tercet adding a second element to each of the members—*sourcils, coeur, yeux, cheveux, sein, face*—and in the final tercet collects the two elements of his second grouping in a double recapitulative series. Angeriano may have supplied his model:

> Amour estant lassé de trainer par les cieux,
> son arc, son feu, ses traits, et son aile courriere,
> son carquois, son bandeau, promptement delibere
> de donner à son dos quelques repos heureux.
> Il voûte en deux sourcils son arc dessus vos yeux,
> il rend à votre coeur sa flamme prisonniere,
> au rayon de vos yeux sa sagette meudriere,
> ses ailes il les pend à vos crespez cheveux.
> Il cache son carquois sous l'enfleure iumelle
> de ce marbre abouty d'une fraize nouvelle
> de son voile couvrant, vostre visage beau;
> ainsi, s'est desarmé et en vous ont pour place
> l'arc, les feux & les traits, l'aile, trousse & bandeau,
> le sourcil, le coeur, l'oeil, le poil, le sein, la face.
> (*Oeuvres*, ed. Marty-Laveaux, Paris, 1878, 255–56)

Ronsard (Palermo, 1925), p. 520, and on traces of Sasso, see my review of Alice Cameron, *The influence of Ariosto's epic and lyric poetry on Ronsard and his group* (Baltimore, 1930) in *Giornale storico della letteratura italiana*, CI (1933), 145–47. Baïf imitated Philoxeno according to M. Auget-Chiquet, *La vie, les idées et l'oeuvre de Jean Antoine de Baïf* (Paris, 1909), p. 91. For additional points of contact between Ronsard and Angeriano and Baïf and Angeriano, see James Hutton, *The Greek anthology in France and in Latin writers of the Netherlands* (Ithaca, N. Y., 1946), pp. 341n, 351n, 355n.

Bruno Berger in *Vers rapportés. Ein Beitrag zur Stilgechichte der französischen Renaissancedichtung* (Freiburg diss., Karlsruhe, 1930) is quite incomplete in the examples of the formula which he lists in his chapter "Enumeration und Wiederaufnahme", pp. 61–62. On p. 2 of his study he states: "Die Franzosen des 16. Jahrhunderts hatten die Form nicht selbst aus einer etwaigen Grundform entwickelt. Sie wurde fertig übernommen: die Muster lieferte jedoch nicht ausschliesslich die neulateinische Poesie, sondern auch die italienische Dichtung des 15. Jahrhunderts, wo sie ziemlich häufig war." Though only a limited number of correlative verse patterns ultimately derive from these sources, he happens to be right if we restrict this influence to the disseminative-recapitulative type.

[10] See the Marty-Laveaux editions of the *Oeuvres* of these poets, all of them published in Paris: Du Bellay, I (1866), 118–19; II (1867), 136–37; Ronsard, I (1887), 32, 140, 10–11; Baïf, I (1881), 309–10; Pontus de Tyard (1875), 118–19.

That Jodelle was fascinated by the artifice can be seen from the fact that he employs it no fewer than nine times in his poems: *De quatre dons Amour . . . , Comme un qui s'est perdu . . . , Mars en guerre . . . , Myrrhe bruloit . . . , Ne les a ton peu donc . . . , Quel heur, Anchise . . . , Quercy m'a engendré . . . , Sapphon la docte grecque . . . , T'oyant ce iour . . .*[11] In one of his sonnets he introduces a refinement upon the Belleau composition by giving us three iterations of the disseminated units instead of two, the first of them having members containing a second element. Both of these elements are repeated serially in the final line:

Mars en guerre effroyable, en ses combats tempeste,
Venus plus douce, tire en l'amour nostre coeur,
forcé dessous les loix de son enfant vainqueur,
et Diane ses serfs en la chasse conqueste.
Mars te vit en naissant, & souffla dans la teste
ie ne sçay quoy, qui doit du monde estre la peur,
et Venus t'inspira le meilleur de son heur,
Diane par les bois t'accoustume à la queste.
Sous Mars tout ce grand monde au ioug asserviras,
sous Venus tous les coeurs du peuple raviras,
et pour d'ici chasser le mal qui vous menasse.
Tout ce rond spatieux te servira de bois,
voire & pourras en tout ce que peuvent les trois,
Mars, Venus & Diane, en guerre, amour & chasse.

Even more remarkable is his *Myrrhe bruloit jadis . . .* , in which the seriatim repetition of the members is flanked by a word series containing the attributes of each of them. This is a procedure much like that followed by Groto in *Di produr perle Arabia . . .* The highly imitative Italian rhymester might well be indebted to Jodelle in this instance. Cf. also the Toscano composition.

Myrrhe bruloit iadis d'une flamme enragee,
osant souiller au lict la place maternelle;
Scylle iadis tondant la teste paternelle,
avoit bien l'amour vraye en trahison changee,
Arachne ayant des arts la deese outragee,
enfloit bien son gros fiel d'une fierté rebelle;
Gorgon s'horribla bien, quand sa teste tant belle
se vit de noirs serpens en lieu de poil changee;
Medee employa trop ses charmes, & ses herbes,

[11] See the Marty-Laveaux ed. of the *Oeuvres*, I (Paris, 1868), 286, and II (Paris, 1870), 16, 131, 93, 147, 12, 21, 104.

quant brulant Creon, Creuse & leur palais superbes,
vengea sur eux la foy par Iason mal gardee.
Mais tu es cent fois plus, sur ton point de vieillesse,
pute, traitresse, fiere, horrible & charmeresse,
que Myrrhe, Scylle, Arachne & Meduse & Medee.

Ellain, a second-rate poet, is one of the very few who disseminates his units as end-rimes following the sestina arrangement and then collects them in his concluding verse.

Qui vouldra veoir tout ce que peult Nature,
Qui vouldra veoir ce que peuuent les Cieux,
Qui vouldra veoir ce que peuuent les Dieux,
Qui vouldra veoir plus qu'humaine figure,
Vienne sans plus contempler la parure,
Qui est posée en la grace et aux yeux
De cell' qui m'est vn Soleil gracieux,
Voire vn Soleil en pleine nuict obscure.
Qui vouldra veoir en vn heureux obiect
Le mieux que veoir on puisse en vn subiect,
Il le verra en elle, ce me semble.
La vienne veoir quiconques vouldra veoir
En vn subiect mortel tout le pouuoir
Des Dieux, des Cieux, et la Nature ensemble.
(*Oeuvres Poétiques Françoises,* Paris, 1861, 17–18)

Buttet, another second-rater, follows the simple pattern in two sonnets in his *Amalthée* (Paris, 1880, pp. 95, 103)—*Beaux yeux veincueurs . . . and Mais, dites-moi, Eolides souldars . . .*

Desportes, representing the *seconde volée,* though otherwise strongly influenced by the Quattrocentists, nevertheless deviates from their procedure in the number of reiterations of his disseminative members. In this connection he seems to be guided by Jodelle's *Mars en guerre . . .* In *L'eau tombant . . .* (*Oeuvres,* Paris, 1858, pp. 151–52) there are two reiterations while in *Du bel oeil . . .* (p. 17) there are three of them. I shall cite the second of the two poems because of the foreign imitators it had subsequently.

Du bel œil de Diane est ma flamme empruntée,
En ses nœux blonds dorez mon cœur est arresté,
Sa main victorieuse a pris ma liberté
Et sa douce parole a mon ame enchantée.
Son œil rend la splendeur des astres surmontée,
Ses cheveux du soleil ternissent la beauté,
Sa main passe l'yvoire, et la divinité

De ses sages discours à bon droit est vantée.
Son bel œil me ravit, son poil doré me tient,
La rigueur de sa main mes douleurs entretient,
Et par son doux parler je sens croistre ma flame.
Ainsi tourne ma vie, et n'ai plus de repos
Depuis l'heure qu'amour m'engrava dedans l'ame
Son œil, son poil, sa main, et ses divins propos.

The meagreness of further French examples posterior to Desportes indicates a marked decline in the popularity of the artifice.

As in France, our device attracted at least momentarily the attention of two of the best Portuguese Renaissance poets, Camoens and Bernardes. The former employs it in a graceful sonnet on the beauties of his lady.

De quantas graças tinha a natureza
Fez hum bello e riquissimo thesouro;
E com rubis e rosas, neve e ouro,
Formou sublime e angelica belleza.
Poz na boca os rubis, e na pureza
Do bello rosto as rosas, por quem mouro;
No cabello o valor do metal louro;
No peito a neve, em que a alma tenho accesa.
Mas nos olhos mostrou quanto podia,
E fez d'elles hum sol, onde se apura
A luz mais clara que a do claro dia.
Em fim, Senhora, em vossa compostura,
Ella a apurar chegou quanto sabia
De ouro, rosas rubis, neve e luz pura.
(*Obras,* I, Porto, 1876, 118)

Though the theme is a trite one the contents do not betray any direct model. Structurally, however, Camoens may have derived the stimulus from either Aquilano or Angeriano, both of whom he imitates in other types of poems.[12] The same may be said of two other sonnets in which he employs the device: *A morte, que da vida* . . . (p. 72) and *Ornou sublime* . . . (p. 74).

Bernardes' one contribution runs as follows:

Ar, que dos meus suspiros vejo cheio,
Terra cansada já com meu tormento,
Agoa, que com lagrimas sostento,
Fogo, que mais accende no meu seio;
Em paz estais em mim; assi o creio,
Sem esse ser o vosso proprio intento,

[12] Cf. J. G. Fucilla, "A miscellany of Portuguese imitations", *Hispanic Review,* III (1935), 47–48, reprinted in *Studies and Notes* (*Literary and Historical*), Napoli, 1953, pp. 240–41.

Pois em dôr, onde falta soffrimento,
A vida se sostem, por vosso meio.
Ai imiga fortuna! ai vingativo
Amor! a que discursos por vós venho
Sem nunca vos mover com minha mágoa!
Se me quereis matar, para que vivo?
E como vivo, se contrarios tenho
Amor, fortuna, ar, terra, fogo, e agoa?
(*Obras completas,* I, Lisboa, 1945, 49–50)[13]

Here the poet seems to follow the pattern set by Philoxeno in *Amor me ha acceso* . . . A clue in this conection is his addition of the members *amor* and *fortuna* to the four elements.

Pedro de Andrade Caminha, contemporary of Camoens and Bernardes, regales us with three epigrams illustrative of the artifice. One of them is the following:

Juno a riqueza só distribuia,
teus olhos dao riqueza mais segura;
Venus a fermosura concedia,
mas tu só tens perfeita fermosura;
Minerva os does do esprito repartia,
Filis, qual tem mais does, qual é mais pura?
Tudo em ti pos o ceo, e em ti o conserva
mais que em Juno, nem Venus, nem Minerva.
(*Poesias ineditas,* ed. Priebsch, Halle, 1898, p. 134)

As this points to Angeriano's *Tres quondam nudas* . . . (*op. cit.,* biiij) as its model, we may presume that the Italian neo-Latinist's examples of the formula likewise served Caminha as patterns for two other epigrams that incorporate it: *Quando apareces* . . . (p. 135) and *Diz que as Parcas* . . . (p. 136).

Somewhat later, in the first quarter of the seventeenth century, Faria y Sousa makes his own offerings to our poetic type in three sonnets: *Com o tempo* . . . (*Fuente de Aganipe y rimas varias,* I, Madrid, 1627, 151^{v}), *Es el roble* . . . (II, 75), *Scintellavam no ceo* . . . (I, 142^{v}). The first of them is a direct imitation, furnished with extra ornamentation, of a sonnet by Pamphilo Sasso from whom he copiously and unblushingly pilfers many another composition.[14]

Com o tempo se vence do manhoso
caçador qualquer Urso mais severo,

[13] This sonnet has been erroneously attributed to Camoens by Alvares da Cunha in his 1668 edition of the *Rimas.* It is included in the *Obras,* p. 110.

[14] See my "Manuel Faria y Sousa's imitations from Italian poets", in *Studies and Notes,* pp. 311–29.

com o tempo domado o Touro fero
nos mostra o campesino artificioso.
Com o tempo, o Leam mais ruidoso
vencido de huma industria ver espero.
Com o tempo se vence o Tigre austero,
porque emfim o rende trato amoroso.
Com o tempo se inclina a Aguia rapante
aa regalada mao; a pedra quanto
a fonte nella cae tanto desmedra.
Vences, o Albania (em resistir constante)
manha, arte, industria, amor, regalo, pranto,
Urso, Touro, Leam, Tigre, Aguia e pedra.

A survey of the verse of the poets of the Elizabethan age shows that quite a few of them looked with favor upon the disseminative-recapitulative formula. The following list will convey some idea of its vogue: Watson, *Here end my sorrow . . .* (*Elizabethan sonnets,* ed. Lee, I, New York, 1904, 154), *In time the Bull . . .* (*Poems,* Westminster, 1895, 83); Sidney, *If I could think . . . , In wonted walks . . . , The fire to see my wrongs . . .* (Lee, I, 121, 120–21, 110–11); Fletcher, *Hear, how my sighs . . .* (Lee, II, 52); Constable, *One sun unto . . .* (Lee, II, 101); Drayton, *Whilst yet mine eyes . . .* (Lee, II, 197); Barnfield, *Loe here behold . . .* (*Poems,* London, n.d., p. 35); W. Smyth, *What need I mourn . . .* (Lee, II, 328); Tofte, *An Ocean sea . . . , As burnished gold . . . , Down from the neck . . . , From milk of Juno . . . , If thou art cold . . . , Lady, thou seemest . . . , Lady, what time . . . , The flaming torch . . . , The snow-white swan . . .* (Lee, II, 362–413); Drummond, *Vaunt not fair Heavens . . .* (*Poetical Works,* Manchester, 1913, I, 6); Fulke Greville, *Love the delight . . . , Rome while the Senate . . . , Sathan no woman . . . , Selfe-pitties teares . . . , Three things there be . . . , Who worships Cupid . . . , Why now how Reason . . .* (*Poems and Dramas,* New York, 1945, pp. 77–111). In *The Phoenix Nest* (ed. Rollins, Cambridge, Mass., 1931) it may be found in *As then no wish . . .* (p. 12), *Cease restles thoughts . . .* (p. 92), *Full fraught with unrecomptless sweet . . .* (pp. 66–67), *Those eies that holds . . .* (pp. 82–83), imitating Desportes, *Du bel oeil, What else is hell . . .* (p. 81). In *England's Helicon* (ed. Rollins, Cambridge, Mass., 1935) it occurs in *As withereth the Primrose . . .* (p. 14), *Ah trees, why fall your leaves . . .* (p. 91), and *The fairest Pearles . . .* (p. 208). In Spenser's *Faerie Queene* II, vi, 13 it appears in *No tree, whose braunches . . .*[15] The majority of these pieces display

[15] I am grateful to Prof. M. A. Shaaber for the references in *The Phoenix Nest* and the one in *The Faerie Queene.*

the simple variety consisting of a single series of disseminative members and a single recapitulation. In several cases, however, the disseminative-recapitulative series is repeated two or more times, giving evidence of probable influence on the part of Desportes. Citation of Fletcher's sonnet will suffice as an illustration:

Hear how my Sighs are echoed by the wind!
See how my Tears are pitied by the rain!
Feel what a Flame possessèd hath my mind!
Taste but the Grief which I possess in vain!
Then if my Sighs the blustering wind surpass,
And wat'ry Tears, the drops of rain exceed,
And if no Flame like mine nor is, nor was;
Nor Grief like that whereon my soul doth feed:
Relent, fair Licia! when my Sighs do blow:
Yield at my Tears that flintlike drops consume:
Accept the Flame! that doth my incense show:
Allow the Grief! that is my heart's perfume:
Thus Sighs, and Tears, Flame, Grief, shall plead for me;
So shall I pray, and you a goddess be.

In his two sonnets listed above Watson displays an ingenuity in applying the device that is worthy of a Groto. In

Here end my sorrow, no here my sorrow springeth,
Here end my woe, no here begins my wailing:
Here cease my griefe, no here my griefe deepe wringeth,
Sorrow, woe, griefe, nor ought else is auailing.
Here cease my teares, no here begins eies weeping,
Here end my plaints, no here begins my pining.
Here hart be free, no sighes in hart still keeping,
Teares, plaints, and sighes all cause of ioyes declining.
Here end my loue, no here doth loue inspire me,
Here end my life, no let not death desire me,
Love, hope and life and all with me must perish.
For sorrow, woe, griefe, teares, and plaints oft plained,
Sighes, love, hope, life, and I, must die disdained.

the formula works out as follows:

A_1 A_2 A_3
A_1 A_2 A_3 (recapitulation)
B_1 B_2 B_3
B_1 B_2 B_3 (recapitulation)
C_1 C_2 C_3
C_1 C_2 C_3 (recapitulation)
A_1 A_2 A_3 B_1 B_2 B_3 C_1 C_2 C_3 (recapitulation)

In the forepart of

> In time the Bull is brought to weare the yoake;
> In time all haggred Haukes will stoope the Lures;
> In time small wedge will cleaue the sturdiest Oake;
> In time the Marble weares with weakest shewres;
> More fierce is my sweete *loue,* more hard withall,
> Then Beast, or Birde, then Tree, or Stony wall . . .

(which is an imitation of an Aquilano attribution; the real author is Pamphilo Sasso) the poet appears to be following the procedure of the Cieco d'Adria in *Di produr perle Arabia* . . . in the use he makes of a recapitulative series synonymous with that in the disseminative unit, in this case consisting of its collective equivalents. The same Groto poem is imitated both thematically and architectonically by Drummond in his *Vaunt not fair Heavens* . . .[16]

No one has noticed as yet that Tofte's *Thou stranger, who* . . . likewise derives from Groto. The original is his *Gli elementi* . . .

> Thou stranger, who with wand'ring steps does wend,
> Thy gazing eyes turn quickly unto me!
> And to my speech, with list'ning ear attend!
> In whom four Elements united be.
> Mark well; and, as a wonder, tell the same
> Of Cupid's force! poor Lovers' Tamburlaine!
> First this my body's Earth, and Earth most cold,
> The Fire within my heart, in covert lies.
> The Air's my sighs. Mine eyes do Waters hold.
> Thus for my Saint, he doth me martyrize.
> Earth is my body; (Strange seems not this same?)
> The Air, my Sighs; eyes, Water; heart, the Flame.

At the same time that Tofte puts a bit of animation into Groto's uninspiring piece he also makes a structural change in the Italian's formula by furnishing each member of the quadruple-membered unit with two elements and then bringing them together in the recapitulation. His *As burnished gold* . . . is a parallel instance only in that it has a tri-membered unit. I believe that these examples are unique in English poetry. Angeriano's *Attolis caelo* . . . may have served as their model.

Despite his being labelled "both advocate and exponent of the plain style in poetry at a time when the general trend was in other directions" (Bullough, introduction to *Poems and Dramas,* p. 20) Fulke Greville, nevertheless, allies himself to his more affected con-

[16] Noted by Janet Scott, *Les sonnets élizabéthains* (Paris, 1929), p. 281.

temporaries in the use of our formula and even outdoes most of them. His examples follow the simple pattern, but in *Selfe-pitties teares* . . . he injects a minor innovation which appears in the form of a reiterated recapitulation.

> Selfe-pitties teares, wherein my hope lyes drown'd,
> Sighs from my thoughts fire, where my desires languish,
> Despaire by humble love of beauty crown'd,
> Furrowes not worne by time, but wheeles of anguish;
> Dry vp, smile, ioy, make smooth, and see
> Furrowes, despaires, sighes, teares, in beauty be.
> Beauty, out of whose clouds by heart teares rained,
> Beauty, whose niggard fire sighs' smoke did nourish,
> Beauty, whose scorching beames make wrinkles florish;
> Time hath made free of teares, sighs, and despaire,
> Writing in furrowes deep; *she once was faire.*

Through the medium of lyric verse the device passed on to dramatic productions. Thomas Kyd in *The Spanish Tragedie* has three examples—*In time the savage bull sustaines the yoake* . . . (Act II, sc. 1), a patent adaptation of Watson's piece, *In time the Bull is brought to weare the yoake . . . ; Heere lay my hope and heere my hope has end* . . . (Act IV, sc. 4) harking back to Watson's *Here, end my sorrow, no here my sorrow springeth* . . . through the double repetition of the word *heere* in each verse; and *O eies, no eies* . . . (Act III, sc. 2). Nor did it fail to penetrate the sphere of music. Obertello's *Madrigali italiani in Inghilterra* (Milano, 1949), for instance, contains three examples, pages 133, 151, 184. Another may be found in Fellowes' edition of Thomas Weelkes' *Madrigals to 3, 4, 5 and 6 voices* (1597) in *The English Madrigal School* (London, 1916), IX, vii.

Since Prof. Dámaso Alonso has masterfully covered the Spanish phase of correlative verse, including our formula, there will be no need for me to go into the matter in detail. Is should be stressed, however, that before 1580 there are only a few sporadic instances of the disseminative-recapitulative device, the first of which is Cetina's *Querría saber* . . . labelled by him *Traducción de un soneto toscano.* I have already noted my assumption that the Italian version belongs to the Quattrocento. Incidentally, the poem translated by Cetina is not that printed by A. Saviotti in his "Un codice musicale del secolo XVI" (*Giornale storico della letteratura italiana,* XIX, 1889, 227), which he drew from a manuscript in the Oliveriana of Pesaro, later quoted by Mele in his article "Sonetti spagnuoli tradotti in Italiano.

Un sonetto italiano tradotto in spagnuolo e sonetti spagnuoli tradotti in italiano" (*Bulletin Hispanique,* XVI, 1914, 451–57). It is, on the other hand, more nearly identical with the composition in the University of Bologna MS. 1251, which I have already cited. The disseminative-recapitulative unit in Montemayor's *Gastando fué el amor mis tristes años . . .* , namely, *Amor, fortuna, el tiempo y mi señora* (*Diana,* libro segundo), suggests an Italian Quattrocentist prototype, the strambotto by Philoxeno, for instance. Ariosto's epitaph and its translations by P. Valles in his *Historia de don Hernando Dávalos, Marqués de Pescara* (1558) and by Zapata in his *Carlo Famosa* (1556)[17] were probably never seriously taken into account as guiding examples. Where Herrera derived the pattern for his *Rojo sol que con hacha luminosa . . .* (*BAE,* XXXII, 282) is not clear. He certainly must have been acquainted with the Cetina and Montemayor compositions as well as with those of the poets of the school of Aquilano and Tebaldeo. If the sonnet can be dated as late as 1577 procedural indebtedness to Groto must also be considered. This brings us very close to the time when the real groundwork was being laid for the Spanish vogue of the artifice. For instance, in 1580 Pedro de Padilla, who was profoundly influenced by the Quattrocentists,[18] published his *Thesoro de varias poesías.*

Es del risco terrible la dureza,
duro el hierro, y el mármol duro elado,
son duras las encinas del collado,
y de las peñas grande el aspereza.
Duro el diamante la naturaleza
con admirable suerte ha fabricado.
Es duro el yelo en nieve congelado
(y destos cada qual tiene estrañeza).
Mas Lúcida que amor y la ventura
y del cielo la más dichosa estrella,
y la más peregrina hermosura,
de acuerdo me rindieron a querella,
es más que el risco, el hierro, el mármol dura
y no hay diamante o yelo como ella.
(1587 ed., 328v)

This is readily recognizable as an agreeable imitation of Angeriano's *Sunt duri scopuli . . .*

In one of his early poems, *Ni en este monte . . .* , Góngora is

[17] See E. S. Morby, "A Latin poem of Ariosto in Spanish", *Modern Language Notes,* LXX (1955), 361.

[18] See J. G. Fucilla, "Pedro de Padilla and the current of the Italian Quattrocentist preciosity in Spain", *Philological Quarterly,* IX (1930), 232–39.

known to have imitated Groto's *Non move, erge, apre . . .*[19] I am inclined to believe that the Spanish poet, while imitating Bernardo Tasso and, to a lesser extent, Petrarch, in *Mientras por competir con tu cabello . . .*, also made use of Groto's *Di produr perle Arabia . . .*, not in the matter of ideas or theme but in the architectural plan of the sonnet. Both have a double recapitulation, one of which is composed of parts of the body and the other of the metaphorical attributes of the same.

Mientras por competir con tu cabello,
Oro bruñido al Sol relumbra en vano,
Mientras con menosprecio en medio el llano
Mira tu blanca frente el lilio bello;
Mientras a cada labio, por cogello,
Siguen más ojos que al clauel temprano,
I mientras triumfa con desden loçano
Del luciente crystal tu gentil cuello;
Goça cuello, cabello, labio, i frente,
Antes que lo que fué en tu edad dorada
Oro, lilio, clauel, crystal luciente,
No solo en plata o viola troncada
Se vuelua, mas tu i ello juntamente
En tierra, en humo, en poluo, en sombra, en nada.
(*Obras poéticas,* New York, 1921, I, 29)

This fine sonnet was composed in 1582, which signifies that Góngora had read Groto in the 1577 edition of the *Rime.* Two of his other sonnets illustrating the device are *No destrozada nave . . .* (1584) and *O excelso muro . . .* (1585).

Among the youthful works of Lope de Vega the disseminative-recapitulative formula appears with the greatest copiousness in his *Arcadia,* where he employs it at least nine times, once in prose. Very close to the beginning of the novel we find it in two of his *octavas encadenadas.*

Galafrón

Llámase piedra, y huya de la gente
el que al amor no corresponde y sigue,
porque a penas hay tigre ni serpiente,
que no obligue a sentir, que amar no obligue:
a la culebra la murena siente,
la hiedra enseña amor, que al olmo ligue,
la arena el tiempo una con otra pega,
la vívora se goza, el aspid ruega.

[19] Cf. D. Alonso, "Versos plurimembres . . .", pp. 123–24, 132–33.

Leriano

La vívora se goza, el aspid ruega,
llora el león, la piedra se enternece,
a sí se niega quien a amor le niega
lo que todo animal le da y ofrece.
¡Hai dura Belisarda, hermosa y ciega
al son de la razón que resplandece!
quien entre tantos olmos nunca es hiedra,
o es aspid, o es león, vívora, o piedra.
(*Colección de las obras sueltas,* VI, Madrid, 1777, 19–20)

The use of this procedure in connection with a refractoriness towards love on the part of a young lass is a free imitation of the passage quoted from the *Aminta,* which is likewise found early in the play, in scene one, in fact. Lope had evidently stumbled upon it in the course of his spade-work preparatory to the composition of his pastoral. Once having used the device under the stimulus of the Italian work he must have been so pleased with the result as to feel impelled to repeat it in other parts of the *Arcadia.* This peculiar attraction was obviously reënforced by a number of examples read in other sources. He unquestionably knew the Góngora sonnets already referred to. He must also have been well-acquainted with Aquilano, specifically with one of the editions of his poems (very likely the Florence, 1516, edition) containing compositions belonging to other writers—Sasso, Calmeta, etc.—which are attributed to him. In it he must have found the Sasso sonnet *Col tempo . . . ,* translating it once in *Con el tiempo el villano a la melena . . . ,* and imitating it twice, in *El libre pajarillo . . .* (*El rey por trueque, Obras* II, ed. Cotarelo, Madrid, 1916, p. 550), and in *Rompe una peña . . .* (*Viuda Valenciana, BAE,* XXIV, 71).[20] A recapitulation occurs in the first two poems. Furthermore, I am inclined to believe that Lope enjoyed the verse of Groto as much as did his contemporaries—Góngora, Quevedo, Jerónimo de Heredia, Pablo Zumel, Salcedo Coronel.[21] It would be difficult to imagine that such a tremendously voracious reader as he has shown himself to be

[20] On some imitations made by Lope from Aquilano's poems or from poems attributed to him see J. G. Fucilla, "Concerning the poetry of Lope de Vega", *Hispania,* XV (1932), 231–33, and "Notes on Spanish Renaissance poetry", *Philological Quarterly,* XI (1932), 244.

[21] Cf. J. G. Fucilla, "Some imitations of Quevedo and some poems wrongly attributed to him", *Romanic Review,* XXI (1930), 228–35; "Notes on Spanish Renaissance poetry", p. 243; "The Italian imitations of Jerónimo de Heredia", *Modern Language Notes,* XLIV (1929), 318–23; Zumel imitates Groto's *S'il diluvio . . .* and *Se 'l cor non ho . . .* in two sonnets in the *Codice riccardiano,* MS. 3, 3358, 157^{r}, 157^{v}. In his *Segundo tomo de las obras de D. Luis de Góngora. Primera parte* (Madrid, 1645), p. 331, Salcedo Coronel tells us: "Remataré este discurso con un Madrigal de Luis Groto, el ciego de Hadria, que siguió este argumento [i.e. Ausonius—*Collige Virgo rosas . . .* imitated in his *Quando de la tua etade il giorno breve . . .*] que merece lugar entre los mejores poetas."

should be missing from this circle. Indeed, direct acquaintance, involving *Di produr perle Arabia . . .*, the same poem that had attracted Góngora, appears to be clearly in evidence in one of the sonnets in the *Arcadia.*

No queda más lustroso y cristalino
por altas sierras el arroyo helado,
ni está más negro el évano labrado
ni más azul la flor del verde lino;
Más rubio el oro que de oriente vino,
ni más puro lascivo y regalado
espira olor el ámbar estimado,
ni está en la concha el carmesí más fino:
Que frente, cejas, ojos y cabellos,
aliento y boca de mi Nymfa bella,
angélica figura en vista humana:
Que puesto que ella se parece a ellos,
vivos están allí, muertos sin ella,
cristal, évano, lino, oro, ámbar, grana.
(*Colección,* p. 34)

The theme of the superiority of milady's beauties over the sublimest manifestations of nature is the same. The same approach is used to develop it, and, finally, we find in both a double recapitulation listing some of the physical beauties of the lady and the things to which they are compared. In addition to this poem it may be assumed that Lope's more ornate specimens of the formula in the *Arcadia* and elsewhere also reflect in some measure the influence of Groto.

It is undoubtedly due to the powerful spur of its two leading writers of the times, Góngora and Lope, that we see the formula spread rapidly throughout the Hispanic peninsula until it reaches its most luxuriant expression in the plays of Calderón.[22]

While we may grant Professor Curtius that our disseminative-recapitulative type of correlative verse may be connected with a lingering tradition that goes back to the classical period, the extreme paucity of examples that have survived demonstrates that its persistence was never sufficiently strong to establish any well-defined literary trend. Indeed, it became entrenched as a poetic procedure only when it was

[22] Cf. the statement by Prof. Alonso in *Seis calas . . .*, pp. 61–62: "No hay tipo más fértil en nuestra literatura: a montones (lo mismo que en sonetos, en canciones, romances, etc.) nos lo ofrece Lope de Vega, y conocidísimo del público es en infinitas florescencias líricas del teatro de Calderón."

Because of their inaccessibility I am excluding consideration of the Latin verse of the Spanish humanists, Salinas, Falcó, etc. An examination of the disseminative-recapitulative type of poems that they use would undoubtedly uncover further contacts with Italian Quattrocentists, notably Angeriano.

employed in the Italian Quattrocento, at which time classical sources rather than tradition furnished the primary stimulus. Though the Bembist reaction temporarily arrested the advance of the Quattrocentists and their methods with regard to Italy until the appearance of the *Rime* of Groto, they continued to be read in other countries, notably France, supplying the writers there with models for their own examples of the formula. At about the same time the instances that appear in Spanish and Portuguese also betray Quattrocentist precedents. Finally, when a new wave of affectation spread throughout western Europe in the last part of the sixteenth and the forepart of the seventeenth century, these Quattrocentist compositions once again became everywhere popular, materially aiding in bringing about the most fruitful period in the vogue of the device. Of all who have applied it, it is the Spaniards who have handled it with the greatest finesse, giving it a degree of malleability and at times making it more responsive to the expression of their inner emotions than the poets in other countries. Because the formula as we see it in the Renaissance and baroque periods is so clearly dependent upon the stimulus of the Quattrocentists for its propagation, it should be separated historically from the other current types of correlative verse that are peculiar to Petrarch and the Petrarchists of the Cinquecento.

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Freedom and Determinism in Renaissance Historians*

In 1499 the Neapolitan humanist Giovanni Pontano renewed an ancient debate on the subject of the relation between poetry and history. The circumstances in which he composed the dialogue *Actius* were sombre. After the French invasion of 1495 Pontano had lost his official position at court. Although he still composed some correspondence for the government he was no longer charged with important responsibilities and indeed his behavior during the crisis of the invasion had been such that Guicciardini could later accuse him of having shown ingratitude to the dynasty that had for so long furnished him with protection and patronage. At the same time he had been stricken with a series of private misfortunes the chief of which was the loss of his son Lucio. His last years were spent in the shadow of the struggle between France and Spain for the partition of the kingdom of Naples. Like other humanists in periods of political misfortune he celebrated the claims of the contemplative life and even wrote that his retirement was a blessing as it enabled him to devote himself unreservedly to literature and philosophy. In these circumstances it was perhaps his greatest consolation to reconstruct partly as history and partly as imagination the conversations of his friends in that academy which had been founded by his preceptor Panormitanus and in which Pontano himself had long been a leading figure. In the dialogues of these last years the author was able to express his own mature views on poetry, history, free will, and astrology.[1]

The dialogue *Actius* is named for Pontano's great friend the poet Sannazzaro, whose political allegiance to the last members of the house of Aragon was more devoted than that of Pontano. The principal interlocutors, who have indeed so much to say that large parts of the dialogue might be described as monologue, are Sanazzaro, who speaks on poetry, and another friend of Pontano, Giovanni Altilius, who speaks on history. Both speakers may be taken as representing also the views of Pontano himself.

The *Actius* contains many generalizations which are commonplaces

* Read at the Central Renaissance Conference at Columbia, Mo., 13 May 1955.

[1] For the events of the last years of Pontano's life and the circumstances of the composition of the dialogues see E. Percopo, *Vita di Giovanni Pontano* (Naples, 1938), 92–106, 221–243. See also *Enciclopedia Italiana*, art. "Pontano".

of the humanist tradition on rhetoric. Sannazzaro discourses at length and with a wealth of illustration, especially from Virgil, on the forms of poetry, comparative style, metrics, and other aspects of the subject. When Altilius is begged by his friends to treat history he begins with an analysis of the similarities and differences between history and poetry. This part of the discussion is reminiscent of the distinction made by Aristotle in the *Poetics* between history and poetry. History is what Alcibiades did and suffered; poetry is what any man might do and suffer. According to Altilius history finds facts, poetry imagines them. History is serious and severe while poetry is luxurious and unrestrained. Livy and Sallust are set before the company as the ideal examples for the historian to follow both in thought and expression.[2]

In these general arguments Pontano was not only echoing and developing Aristotelian positions which were characteristic of most of his moral and political writings, but also speaking directly from his own experience. His reputation with his contemporaries had rested chiefly on his Latin poetry, but he had also written a history of the Neapolitan wars which followed the death of his first patron Alfonso the Magnanimous. The precepts which Pontano puts into the mouths of the interlocutors in the *Actius* are thus not merely traditional but also derived from his own successful achievement in both modes of expression. Among the many points made in the discourse of Altilius on history there are three statements which may be taken as illustrative of an important part of both the theory and practice of Renaissance historical writing.

The first of these statements is that war must be the principal subject of historical analysis. The historian should deal with the counsels of those who have recommended resort to war, with the administration of the armed forces, and with the merits of the rival commanders. History is *res gestae* and war must be its principal component. A large proportion of the examples chosen from Sallust and Livy are concentrated on the origin and conduct of war.[3]

The second is the proposition that war is especially the realm of the contingent. Nowhere more than in war does the unexpected happen and that which has been hoped for by neither side come to pass. The result is beyond the imagination, beyond the opinions and

[2] *I Dialoghi di Giovanni Pontano,* ed. C. Previtera (Florence, 1943), 192–194. The best edition of the *Actius* is that contained in this work, 123–239. It will hereafter be cited as *Actius* with reference to page and line.

[3] *Actius,* 218, lines 4–36.

advice given on each side, beyond hope or fear, beyond rejoicing or sadness. Therefore the writer must pay great account to chances and fortuitous events in this sphere above all. He must report the weather, hunger, cold, heat, pestilence, and unforeseen dangers in the path of the army as he must also report boldness, fear, treachery, the effect of false rumors, and all that happens in the conduct of war whether by calculation or by chance.[4]

The third proposition goes beyond either the plans of men or the regular action of nature. The historian must not omit—indeed he has an obligation to report—presages, oracles, prophecies, visions, and sacrifices.[5] These are manifestations to men of the processes behind the appearances of things.

The preoccupation with war in this advice to the historian is perhaps natural in Pontano's dialogue in view of the prominence of examples from ancient historical writing, especially Livy and Sallust. It is also natural, however, that Pontano's mind should have seized upon war as the chief subject of history entirely apart from the classical tradition. The memory of the French invasion was fresh. The relative peace of the Italian peninsula had been shattered and a second invasion was overcoming the duchy of Milan even as Pontano was writing. The partition of the kingdom of Naples by the secret Treaty of Granada and the dissolution of the dynasty in whose service Pontano had spent most of his life were imminent while he was formulating his rules for the practice of historical writing. The first French invasion, the date of which was to be taken by subsequent historians as marking a new era in the history of European politics, was already beginning to be regarded as a catastrophic break with the past. The analysis of its causes and consequences became one of the great themes of historical writing and it is interesting to juxtapose the precepts of Pontano with the great contemporary histories of the French invasion.

In the year in which Pontano was writing his dialogue a man whom he may well have had an opportunity to see and even to meet at the coronation of Charles VIII as king of Naples, Philippe de Commines, was finishing his *Memoirs,* the last two books of which are devoted to an account of the Italian expedition of the French. Commines was not, at least by any narrow definition, a writer in the humanist tradition. Indeed it may be questioned whether he should be called a Renaissance historian at all. Although Sainte-

[4] *Actius,* 220, lines 9–17.
[5] *Actius,* 218, lines 28–30.

Beuve and others have not hesitated to describe him as the first of modern writers, they neglect much in Commines that is totally foreign to modern modes of thought. Considering the great differences in the background, education, and experience of Commines and Pontano, it is the more significant that Commines' account conforms as closely as it does to the criteria set forth by Pontano.

Consider the opening of the seventh book.

> . . . to continue these memoirs which I have commenced I intend to describe how it was that Charles VIII now reigning undertook his expedition to Italy. . . . There was much disputation whether he should go or not, for the enterprise seemed to all wise and experienced people very unreasonable and those who approved of it were only the king himself and one called Etienne de Vesc, a native of Languedoc, a man of humble birth who had never seen nor understood anything. Another who pushed into this affair, a man of no courage, was a member of the financial administration called Briconnet who has since because of this expedition won great goods in the church as a cardinal and a great many benefices. . . . De Vesc had served the king very well in his infancy as a valet and he brought in Briconnet and these two were the cause of the said enterprise which few praised and most blamed because everything necessary to so great an expedition was lacking, for the king was young, weak in his person and full of his own will, unaccompanied by wise counsellors or good leaders. Nor was there any money, for before leaving it was necessary to borrow a hundred thousand francs of the Bank of the Sauli at Genoa reckoned at fourteen per cent interest from fair to fair. . . .
>
> They had neither tents nor pavilions and the winter was coming on in Lombardy. One thing they had which may be called good and that was a gay company of young gentlemen full of their own will who did not know the meaning of the word obedience. Thus we must conclude that this expedition was conducted by God from its departure to its return because the wisdom of the leaders counted for nothing. Nevertheless it must be said that they were the cause of bringing great honor and glory to their master.[6]

Throughout his *Memoirs* Commines makes war his principal theme and in this passage as elsewhere it can be seen that he gives due weight to the discussion of the counsels that preceded a military undertaking. The plans of men and the course of nature are duly recorded. But most significantly there is also the sense of wonder at the outcome which Commines regards as so far beyond hope or fear

[6] Philippe de Commines, *Memoirs*, ed. B. de Mandrot (Paris, 1901), VII, 1. My translation.

that it is the product of direct divine intervention. Not only was the result of the expedition in this sense miraculous but Commines also recognizes the prophecies and oracles which, according to Pontano, the historian has a duty to report. He records his visit to Savonarola and the things foretold by the friar that had come to pass. Later at the Battle of Fornovo when the French army is returning to France Commines considers that again the king has been led directly by God just as Savonarola foretold.[7]

The appeal to God as conductor of the French expedition has been thought to be ironic and it is certainly true that Commines wished to do all he could to diminish the repute of the immediate advisors of Charles VIII. Nevertheless throughout the *Memoirs* there is recurring evidence of the seriousness of Commines' sense of the divine rule over human affairs. The rivalry of the European princes is a result of the divine plan which has established the French against the English, the English against the Scots, the Spanish against the Portuguese, the commonwealths in Italy against the despots. The hand of God is to be seen in prosperity as in adversity. The house of Spain has had a series of deaths which could have been predicted by no one and have had a profound effect on the organization of European politics. Of course Commines is not really writing a theodicy and it may be agreed that his emphasis is on the kind of prudence which may be learned by studying the lessons of Louis XI and Charles the Bold. Yet the area in which lessons of this kind can be learned at all is circumscribed by acts of God which we cannot know and Commines' constant recognition of this fact is often neglected or forgotten. The very critics who have hailed the modernity of Commines would be the first to be confounded if modern historians invoked the hand of God half so much as does Commines.

Some thirty years after Commines had finished his *Memoirs,* the greatest historian of the Italian Renaissance, Francesco Guicciardini, wrote his *Storia d'Italia.* This history was a product of the last period of his life when he had seen the failure of all his hopes for the regeneration of politics and society in Italy. As he confessed in his *Ricordi,* he had hoped chiefly for three things, the establishment of good government in Florence, the eradication of the barbarian invaders from the peninsula, and the reform of the priesthood.

[7] Commines, VIII, 3 and VIII, 6.

In Florence the Medici restoration was leading to the grand duchy of Tuscany, in Italy the Spanish domination was more firmly established than ever, and in the church the beginnings of reform in the Roman curia were hardly perceptible at the time when Guicciardini wrote. There is about his work an atmosphere of resignation. One learns from Tacitus how to conduct oneself under a tyranny. The only way to transcend the historical situation is to try to understand how it has come to be. The opening pages of the *History* present the image of the affairs of men as comparable to the sea agitated by winds and the lessons of history will teach us to refer ourselves to the ways of God and not those of men.[8]

Yet within this framework there is a human scheme of causation centered on the analysis of the individual motivations of Ludovico, Alexander VI, Charles VIII, and the other principal actors in the drama of 1494. We have for example in direct discourse the speech of Ludovico's ambassadors to the French court about what he *said* were the reasons why he was urging the French king to come to Italy; we have also in Guicciardini's account of the reactions of the French court and the other Italian powers what they *thought* were the motives of Ludovico, and finally we have Guicciardini's analysis of what he was really doing. Thus there is a series of different perspectives, which end by giving us a picture of the impulses and purposes and conditions which had moved the rulers of men. Causation is interpreted as multiple series of events which intersect at many points. The picture is one of enormous detail and complexity, but it might have been changed by the alteration of a single element in the lives of the characters under consideration.

The whole structure of rational analysis is balanced by a recognition of the helplessness of the intellect to penetrate to an ultimate understanding of the processes of history. In the *Ricordi* Guicciardini affirms again and again his belief that we can have no certain knowledge of the future and the contingent. Human affairs are so subject to accident that they cannot be foreseen. One of his arguments for faith is that the things of this world are so unpredictable that help may come to him who has stubbornly persevered when everything has seemed to be against him. This is not an observation on the substance of faith but on its effects. Fortune reigns, but behind the caprices of fortune is a kind of destiny. Neither wise men nor fools

[8] Francesco Guicciardini, *Opere*, ed. V. de Caprariis (Milan, 1953), 373.

can escape that which is to be but they cannot know it in advance. Guicciardini quotes with approval the Senecan maxim that the fates lead those who are willing but drag those who are not. Miracles are the secret of nature to the depths of which the mind of man cannot penetrate.[9]

In the *Storia d'Italia* the invasion of 1494 is described as accompanied by horrid portents, the account of which vividly recalls how different is the world of the modern historian from that of Guicciardini.

> The calamity of Italy was pronounced both by man and by the heavens. Those who profess either by science or by divine inspiration to know the future confessed with one voice that there appeared greater and more frequent mutations, stranger and more horrible portents than had been seen for many years. The rumor resounded throughout Italy that things had been seen beyond the course of nature and the heavens. In Apulia by night three suns were seen in the skies, but clouded in their centers and accompanied by horrible thunder and lightning. In Arrezzo for many days there passed through the air great numbers of armed men riding on huge horses with a terrible sound of trumpets and tambors. In many places in Italy the images and sacred statues were seen to break into a sweat. Many monsters were born among men and animals and many other things happened in divers parts beyond the order of nature whence the people were filled with an incredible fear.[10]

These brief references to Commines and Guicciardini will serve to indicate how much their exposition follows the precepts announced by Pontano. War is their principal subject matter. They explain the counsels which led to the outbreak of war, the characters and personalities of the military and diplomatic leaders, the strategy and tactics of the armies in the field. They both emphasize how much the course of history lies hidden from human eyes. The outcome is beyond all human calculation of hope or fear. They believe in historical miracles in the sense that something comes to pass quite out of the ken of the men who directed the enterprise and they also believe in miracles in the conventional sense. They report prophecies and prodigies. Commines relates the prophetic sermons and letters of Savonarola and Guicciardini the monstrous events outside the course of nature which accompanied the entrance of the troops of Charles VIII. Both

[9] Guicciardini, *op. cit.*, 393–401.
[10] Guicciardini, *op. cit.*, 431. My translation.

historians combine a capacity for realistic psychological analysis with a sense of the limits of man's historical understanding. There are determinisms, but they lie outside the course of human history. They are inscrutable.

I should like to raise the question whether such a system did not paradoxically provide a basis for a more vivid affirmation of human freedom and responsibility than one which locates the determinisms of history within the frame of human or natural action, whence they can be defined and their results at least to some extent predicted. Commines and Guicciardini may be viewed as representing a stage between two different types of historical determinism. The first might be described as a psychological determinism in which the personages of history become types of moral or aesthetic qualities. According to this view, history unrolls from the character of the individual, which is essentially unchangeable. In Sir Thomas More's *History of Richard III,* for example, Richard is born evil in an unnatural manner and remains evil all his life. He is an archetype of villain and tyrant. Another example from a minor figure who was a contemporary of Commines is provided by André de la Vigne. He was a court historian of Charles VIII and accompanied the French expedition to Naples, writing a daily chronicle in prose and verse of the king's achievements. For him Charles VIII and his nobles are types of Christian knights engaged in the first preliminaries of a gigantic struggle to free the Holy Land from the invaders. This framework precluded the possibility of the kind of realistic analysis of the character of individuals that we find in Commines and Guicciardini.

The second kind of determinism is that which has become more familiar in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. It results from the appeal to an inevitable force, sociological, national, economic, within human history. This is a force the action of which it may be possible to predict, unlike the inscrutable forces of Guicciardini, once it has been distinguished and identified. For example, the great nineteenth-century French historian Michelet, describing the same events with which Commines and Guicciardini dealt, proclaimed that it was inevitable that France had to conquer Italy in this period in order to spread the culture of the Italian Renaissance to the north of Europe. There might have been a Turkish conquest and there might have been a Spanish conquest and either one would have been disastrous had it taken place before the French had had their oppor-

tunities in Italy.[11] Michelet is writing the history of the French people, and in the light of the inspired destiny of this great collectivity individual personalities sink into insignificance. Charles VIII and Ludovico Sforza have a dramatic interest, but they do not have an essentially significant part in the story, which would have had the same outcome if some other human puppets had represented the forces that were sweeping the European world. The great motivating power in Michelet's history was the national consciousness of the French people, but the same consequences have followed from economic and psychological explanations which leave the individual subordinated to a remorseless process in which lies the meaning of history.

Such sociological determinisms located within rather than outside human history are of course not entirely a creation of the modern mind. Machiavelli has with justification been considered a social scientist, but of all Renaissance historians the one who considered most profoundly the question of the sociological lessons to be learned from history is Jean Bodin, whose *Methodus,* published in 1566, is the most reflective book on history in the sixteenth century.

In the introduction to this work Bodin distinguished divine history, natural history, and human history. Human history is the area controlled by the wills of men forever changing and unlike themselves. Knowledge of this kind of history gives prudence. Natural history discloses the laws of nature and gives men science. Divine history reveals the hand of God in human affairs and gives faith, which is the most certain of all.[12] This analysis may be said to have been the basis of Bodin's life work, for the distinctions he made in this early book became in succession the subjects of each of his major writings—human history in the *Republic,* natural history in the *Theatrum Universæ Naturæ,* and divine history in the *Heptaplomeres,* the strange dialogue on religion which he left unpublished at his death. Of course these three areas of historical knowledge could not be kept in separate compartments. Bodin saw, as had Commines and Guicciardini, the constant intersection in human affairs of the natural and the divine. Nevertheless, unlike Commines and Guicciardini, Bodin believed at least at the time when he was writing the *Republic* that a kind of certainty could be derived from human history which amounted in certain subjects to the possibility of prediction. The

[11] Michelet, *Histoire de France* (Paris, 1879), IX, 136–141.
[12] J. Bodin, *Œuvres Philosophiques,* ed. P. Mesnard (Paris, 1951), I, 114–115.

Republic was premised on the proposition that in human history there are valid generalizations that can be made, especially on the subject of the rise and fall of states. This is a knowledge about the behavior of men in groups which is far removed from the emphasis of most of Bodin's predecessors with the possible exception of Machiavelli. It was a new direction and there is some evidence that Bodin himself turned away from its full consequences at the end of his life in favor of determinisms beyond the control of mankind.

In the first edition of the *Theatrum Universæ Naturæ* in 1596 Bodin published a letter to a friend in which he praises learning about nature because of its certainty in comparison with the fluctuations of human institutions. He says that even the science of law, which has been called architectonic and the moderator of all the arts, is afflicted with relative standards dependent on the errors and wills of men.

> These considerations [he says] drew me back from making an institute of all laws, a selection of which I had made, culled by daily labor from the customs and edicts of almost all peoples so that something fixed might be established. For I believed that all edicts, decrees, and laws of peoples might be boldly attributed to the wills and lusts of men unless there could be discovered in them some shining vestiges of the divine law, that is, a law of nature, guiding a person through the secret places of a labyrinth. . . . But in nature there is nothing uncertain. We see that fire burns equally among the Persians as among the Celts and the snow is everywhere white and the orbits of the celestial bodies fixed so that these things which have been decreed remain the same and like themselves from their origin onward. We see that we follow nature as a leader as if it were some divine power. . . .[13]

Thus Bodin turned from the uncertainties of the world of man to the certainties of the world of nature and it is interesting to reflect that one who is rightly regarded as a founder of sociology doubted the basis on which his theoretical structure was built. In the end Bodin's view of history sounds much closer to Guicciardini than to Machiavelli.

In a recent essay the Oxford philosopher Isaiah Berlin has penetratingly discussed the subject of historical inevitability.[14] He finds that we have reached a point where we are inhibited from distributing praise and blame or even estimating the importance of an individual

[13] Microfilm of the 1596 edition of the *Theatrum Universæ Naturæ* in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris. This microfilm was kindly furnished me by Dr. Kenneth McCrae of Nuffield College, Oxford.

[14] *Historical Inevitability* (Oxford, 1954).

and this for two reasons. In the first place, there are those who know too much. These are the followers of a discernible and predictable pattern in history, those who have rejected the idea of historical miracles, who are able to see the unfolding of the historical process without a sense of wonder because everything is explicable. A determinism, economic, sociological, demographic, racial, absolves the individual of responsibility. His behavior is deducible from the laws which govern the larger whole to which he belongs. On the other hand, there are those who know too little to make any judgments. These are the relativists who assert that moral standards must be those of the age to which the individual belongs and there is no more to be said. The behavior of the individual is again deducible from the larger pattern. The result is what Lord Acton condemned in Creighton's account of the Renaissance papacy when he said that Creighton had gone through scenes of raging controversy and passion with divided judgment, a hung jury, and a pair of white gloves.

At least some Renaissance historians were happily free of either of these modern preconceptions. Guicciardini and Commines did believe in the determinisms of fortune and God, but those were determinisms which could not be interpreted by the human observer. In effect they believed in historical miracles. The future was unpredictable, and if the past had in retrospect an air of inevitability to the eye of the human observer who was analyzing it, yet this was a product not only of the forces beyond men's ken but also of the wisdoms and follies, the virtues and vices of individuals who made decisions. The historian was free to exhibit on the human plane the cleverness of Louis XI and the foolishness of Charles the Bold, the mistakes of Ludovico Sforza and the triumphs of Lorenzo de' Medici. The men were more real than the forces because the forces were above the level of human understanding. Nothing is more striking in such writers as Commines and Guicciardini than the sense of the reality of the personalities they describe. They are mixtures of good and bad, intelligence and stupidity, not personifications of types. They have dimension and they exist. This means that they had a kind of freedom—perhaps we should say today existential freedom—which involves them in the consequences of their own acts even though they live in a world which comprehends other determinants. They are nearer the characters of tragedy than are the modern players in sociological dramas. They are individuals.

The concept of individualism as defined by Burckhardt has been

much criticized in recent years as meaningless. Nevertheless in the precepts of Pontano and the practice of Commines and Guicciardini there is much to justify it. A view of the importance, the uniqueness, and the freedom of the individual is at the very center of their understanding of the historical world and so of the larger world of which history was only a part.

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Sir Thomas More's Life of Pico della Mirandola

Although the importance of Sir Thomas More's *Life of John Picus, Earl of Mirandula* in the development of the English biography has been noted,[1] historians concerned with More's life and thought have singularly neglected the work. A study of it, however, reveals much of interest concerning More's psychological crisis of 1504, about his attitude towards the papacy, and about his desire to avoid public office.

More's *Life of Pico,* written in 1504, is not an original work. It is, rather, a translation of a biography written by Pico's nephew, Gianfrancesco Pico, as an introduction to Pico's collected works. More's translation is generally quite literal; he makes, however, a number of omissions and additions, and from these we can gain insight into certain of his own ideas.

We cannot estimate the significance of More's alterations without some knowledge of the circumstances in which he wrote. He seems to have translated the biography during a critical period, psychologically, in his life. By 1504 he had been living in the London Charterhouse for about four years. We know that he considered forsaking his legal studies, prospects of marriage, and the world. Then he decided that he was not suited for monastic life. In 1505 he left the company of the Carthusians, married Jane Colt, and began the practice of law. Cresacre More was setting down family tradition when he wrote in the biography of his great-grandfather:

> Finding his body for all his austerities ready still to endanger his soul, . . . he determined to marry; and therefore he propounded to himself, as a pattern of life, a singular layman John Picus Earl of Mirandola, who was a man famous for virtue, and most eminent of learning.[2]

Pico's life as a pious layman who died without having taken monastic vows seems, then, to have influenced More in the making of his own decision.

One of More's insertions into the biography suggests that he felt that God was ordering him, perhaps by presenting him with Pico's example, to leave the monastery. More writes of Pico's intention to

[1] Donald A. Stauffer, *English Biography before 1700* (Cambridge, Mass., 1930), pp. 35–37.
[2] Cresacre More, *The Life of Sir Thomas More* (London, 1726), pp. 18–19.

walk about the world barefoot, preaching Christ in every town and castle, and continues, "Afterward I vnderstande, by the especiall commandement of god he chaunged that purpose, and appointed to professe him self in the order of freres prechours".[3] The phrase "by the especial commandment of God" is More's own; the Latin original has only "Accepi postea illum mutauisse propositum nam predicatorum ordini se addicere statuens".[4] If More thought that the express commandment of God accompanied Pico's change of purpose, we may conclude that he felt it in his own life also.

Perhaps the most significant of More's alterations in the text are two omissions of references to the pope. Since there is considerable evidence that in his later life More was not always a strong supporter of the power of the pope, these omissions may well indicate that, already in 1504, he was questioning the extent of the pope's authority.

The first of these omissions occurs after the mention of Pico's nine hundred propositions, the philosophical and theological articles which he proposed for debate and which were condemned as heretical because they went so far in the attempt to reconcile Platonism, Aristotelianism, and Christianity with one another that the result was scarcely Christian. Gianfrancesco Pico says that his uncle submitted a defense of the theses to the church and to its head, the pope. More, apparently respecting the corporate unity of the church more than the power of an individual at its head, writes merely that the matter was committed "to the most holy iudgement of our mother holy church".[5] The passage which he deletes states that the defense was sent to the church and "eius presidi sanctissimo iudicio / Christianissimi hominis more" and continues:

Id enim uel expresse / uel tacite fieri oportere persuasissimum est quasique illud Augustini proferret: Errare possum hereticus esse non possum quando Alterum sit hominis proprium Alterum peruersae et obstinatae uoluntatis. Sed ubi Innocentius Octauus pontifex maximus accepit / per editionem Apologiae / interpretatas conclusiones illas / quae prius calumniis infestatae fuerant / in catholicum sensum / et a nota criminis releuatas / Referentibusque nonnullis / quibus conclusionum examen demandatum fuerat decipulas opponi posse fidelibus / si

[3] *The Workes of Sir Thomas More . . . in the Englysh Tonge* (London, 1557), a.iiii^{v}; *The English Works of Sir Thomas More*, ed. W. E. Campbell (London, 1931), I, 359.

[4] Johannes Picus Mirandula, *Omnia Opera*, ed. Johannes Franciscus Picus Mirandula (Bologna, 1496), a viiii^{r}. It has sometimes been assumed, upon grounds which seem to me insufficient, that More worked from the second edition of the *Opera* (Bologna, 1498). There are no differences between the two editions other than pagination and spelling. All references here will be to the first edition.

[5] *English Works* (1557), a.ii^{v}; *English Works* (1931), I, 352.

nonnullae quaestionum illarum (crude quidem et inexplicitae disceptandarum more iacebant) passim uagarentur libelli lectionem quo continebantur interdixit / quae omnia per Alexandri Sexti pontificis maximi / sub quo nunc vivimus / Diploma / quod breue nominant liquido visuntur: quod cum Apologia ipsa impressoribus tradere exarandum duximus. Verum in ipso Apologiae calce / quod postea pontifex auctoritate praestitit / quibus ille poterat rationibus antea factitauerat.[6]

Another omission of a reference to the papacy occurs at about the same place in the text. The original Latin states that the propositions were approved by a bishop close to the pope.

[Celebrated theologians approved,] quorum coetu Bonfranciscus Regiensis episcopus annumeratus est: Vir omnigena doctrina: accerrimoque iudicio: et morum grauitate praeclarus: qui Romae ad pontificem maximum ea tempestate / pro Ferrariensium duce agebat legatus. Aduersus tamen eum Blaterones illi nihil attentarunt / cum forte ab eis labefactari eius famam non posse uererentur / quando quicquid tractasset correctioni matris ecclesiae et pontificis submisset.[7]

The most striking statement of More's later attitude towards the papacy is a letter written to Thomas Cromwell in 1534, in which he defends himself against the assertion that he was responsible for the strongly pro-papal tone of Henry VIII's early *Defense of the Seven Sacraments*. More writes:

As towching the thyrde point, the prymatie of the Pope, I no thing medle in the mater. Trowth it is, that as I told yow, whan yow desyred me to shew yow what I thowght therin, I was my selfe some tyme not of the mynd that the prymatie of that see shold be bygone by thinstitution of God, vntill that I redd in that mater those thingis that the Kyngis Highnes had written in his moost famouse booke agaynst the heresyes of Marten Luther, at the fyrst reding wherof I moved the Kyngis Highnes either to leve owt that point, or ellys to towche it more slenderly for dowt of such thingis as after myght happe to fall in question bytwene his Highnes and some pope as bytwene pryncis and popis dyverse tymis have done. Whervnto his Highnes answered me, that he wold in no wise eny thing minishe of that mater. . . .

More goes on to state that he now believes in the pope's primacy, although apparently not in his complete supremacy. He suggests that Henry's difficulties may be solved by the deposition of the pope by a general council:

[6] *Opera*, a ii^{v}.
[7] *Ibid.*, a ii^{r}–a ii^{v}.

And veryly sith the Kyngis Highnes hath (as by the boke of his honorable counsaile appereth) appealed to the generall counsaile from the Pope, in which counsaile I beseche our Lord send his grace cumfortable spede, me thinketh in my pore mynd it could be no furtheraunce there vnto his Gracys cause, if his Highnes shold in hys awne realme byfore, either by lawys making, or bokys putting forth, seme to derogate and deny not onely the primatie of the se apostolique, but also the authorite of the generall counsailys to, which I veryly trust his Highnes intendeth not, ffor in the next generall counsaile it may well happen, that this pope may be deposed and a nother substituted in his rome, with whom the Kyngis Highnes may be very well content. . . .

More concludes:

Ffor albeit that I have for myn awne parte such opinion of the popys primatie as I have shewed yow, yit neuer thowght I the Pope above the generall counsaile nor neuer have in eny boke of myn put forth among the Kyngis subgietis in our vulgare tunge, avaunced greatly the Popis authorite.[8]

More, like Erasmus, was always attracted by the medieval idea of the unity of Christendom, and More feared that without this cohesive force the Christian world would dissolve into a chaos of mutually hostile nations. Also, More lived to see the Rebellion of the Knights and the Peasants' Revolt in Germany as examples of what religious ferment could bring, and he became anxious to avoid the unsettling effect of a change in the *status quo*. Since the supremacy of the pope was not clearly stated until the Council of Trent, More could hold that the power of the pope was not necessarily equivalent to that of the church, and this appears to be precisely the position that he adopted. It was thus quite possible for him to question the extent of the pope's authority and yet die to uphold the authority of the church as a whole.

More's most curious omission is of material about Pico's attitude towards high public office. The deleted text tells how Pico was urged to seek the position of cardinal in the church but refused. One of the most important similarities between More and Pico lay in their desire to avoid public office; in this matter, as we shall see, there may be considerable truth in Cresacre More's suggestion that Sir Thomas was consciously influenced by Pico's example. Further, Pico's refusal to accept ecclesiastical office strengthened his position as a pious lay-

[8] *The Correspondence of Sir Thomas More,* ed. E. F. Rogers (Princeton, 1947), pp. 498–499. An account of More's conversation with Henry VIII is in William Roper, *The Life of Sir Thomas More,* ed. E. V. Hitchcock (EETS, OS 197, London, 1935), pp. 67–68.

man; since More chose Pico as an example of the ideal pious layman, this omission is doubly surprising. We can only suggest that More was unwilling to repeat the hint that ecclesiastical offices might be obtained easily or corruptly. The deleted passage—incidentally it contains another reference to the papacy—runs as follows:

Ferrariae quoque cum ex amicis quidam Pandulpho Collenutio Pisaurensi iurisconsulto / perspicacis ingenii uiro / et multifariae lectionis quo amico familiarissime utebatur / suassissent / ut eum adduceret quibuscunque rationibus posset ad cardinalatus dignitatem petendam / uel certe si eam pontifex offeret (quod multis futurum uidebatur) amplectandam: Idque Pandulphus subhesitans pertentasset / quippe qui non ingarus esset / Omnia illum malle / quam huiusmodi honoribus commisceri / ipse qua erat animi magnitudine responderi protinus propheticum illud / per epistolam iussit. Non sunt cogitationes meae: cogitationes uestrae contemplans forte de bonis ecclesiae / quorum pars maxima pauperibus hereditario iure debetur / magnificos ducere apparatus: non oportere / Sanctissimorum item hominum exempla ante oculos posita / Ambrosii scilicet Augustini / Martini caeterorumque / qui episcopatus dignitatem oblatam effugerunt / Diuque id muneris ante quam obirent detractauerunt / quid quod et non modo ab cardinalatu ipso / Sed et ab suprema summi pontificii potestate sanctissimum Caelestinum se abdicasse legerat ipsumque totius Christianae rei publicae humeris onus excussisse / onus uere cum subeuntibus maximum paretur praemium inuitis scilicet et parendi tantum iuuandique gratia illud amplectentibus persuassimum erat / uiro philosopho non esse laudis cumulasse diuitias / non quaesisse honores / sed renuisse.[9]

This omission becomes all the more baffling when we note that More did translate two passages which tell how Pico shunned public office. The first of these says that he declined ecclesiastical preferments offered by two kings and rejected "great worldly promocion".[10] The second tells us that "Ther was nothing more odiouse, nor more intolerable to him, than (as Horace saith) the proude palaices of stately lordes" and comments that Pico fled both marriage and public life but would "leuer take him to mariage, as that thing in which was lesse seruitude, and not so much ieopardie".[11]

Passages from several of Pico's letters which More translates and appends to the biography are probably representative of his own attitude towards public service. Since More selects only three from about fifty letters printed in Pico's *Opera,* he must have been especially in sympathy with the ideas which these three contained, or at

[9] *Opera,* a vii^{v}–a viii^{r}.
[10] *English Works* (1557), a.iii^{v}–a.iiii^{r}; *English Works* (1931), I, 357.
[11] *English Works* (1557), a.iiii^{v}; *English Works* (1931), I, 359.

least he must have thought them particularly significant. In the first of these letters Pico warns his nephew Gianfrancesco against court life:

Of the court and seruice of this worlde, ther is nothing that I nede to write vnto the: the wretchednes wherof the experience it self hath taught the, and daily teacheth. In obteining the fauour of the princes, in purchasing the frendship of the company, in ambiciouse labour for offices, and honours, what an heape of heuines ther is. How great anguish, how much besynes and trouble, I maie rather lerne of the then teache the: whiche holding my self content with my bokes and rest, of a childe haue lerned to liue within my degree, and as much as I maie dwelling with my self, nothing out of my self labour for, or longe for.[12]

The second letter which More selects was written to Andrew Corneus, one of Pico's friends. In it Pico defends his position in not using his learning to serve a prince.

Ye writ vnto me, that it is tyme for me now to put my selfe in houshould with some of the great princes of Italie: but I see wel, that as yet ye haue not knowen the opinion, that philosophers haue of them self: which (as Horace saith) repute them selfe kinges of kinges: thei loue libertie: thei can not beare the proude maners of estates: thei can not serue. Thei dwell with them selfe, and be content with the tranquillitie of their own mynde, thei suffise them selfe and more, thei seke nothing out of them selfe: the thinges that are had in honour among the common people: among them be not holden honorable. . . . I therfore abyding firmely in this opinion: set more by my litle house, my study, the pleasure of my bokes, the rest and peace of my minde: then by all your kinges palacis, all your commune busines, all your glorie, all the aduauntage that ye hawke after, and all the fauour of the court. Nor I loke not for this frute of my study, that I maie therby hereafter be tossed in the flode and rombeling of your worldly businesse: but that I maie once bring forth the children that I trauaile on: that I maie geue out some bokes of myne own to the common profit, whiche maie sumwhat sauour: if not of cunnyng, yet at the lest wise of wit and diligence.[13]

More's own feeling against holding public office is so well known that the point scarcely needs to be labored. Erasmus, describing More in a long letter to Ulrich von Hutten, writes:

He was formerly rather disinclined to a Court life and to any intimacy with princes, having always a special hatred of tyranny and a great fancy for equality;

[12] *English Works* (1557), a.vi^{r}; *English Works* (1931), I, 364–365; Pico, *Opera,* RR iii^{v}.
[13] *English Works* (1557), a.vii^{v}–a.viii^{r}; *English Works* (1931), I, 370; Pico, *Opera,* TT vi^{r}–VV i^{r}.

whereas you will scarcely find any Court so well-ordered as not to have much bustle and ambition and pretense and luxury, or to be free from tyranny in some form or other. He could not even be tempted to Henry the Eighth's Court without great trouble, although nothing could be desired more courteous or less exacting than this Prince.[14]

More himself wrote to Erasmus after he had resigned the chancellorship:

Almost from boyhood, my darling Erasmus, up to the present day I have ever longed to be free from public business so that at length I might have an opportunity to live to God and myself. By the goodnes of Almighty God and by the favour of an indulgent Prince I have at last obtained this boon.[15]

The first book of More's *Utopia* is a discussion of the humanist's obligation to enter public service. More puts arguments on both sides into the mouths of his characters, probably representing his own mental indecision at the time—within a year he was in the king's service. He seems, however, to be most in sympathy with Raphael Hythloday, whose attitude is that "by disturbing my own peace and quiet, I should not promote the public interest. For in the first place, almost all princes prefer to occupy themselves in the pursuits of war (with which I neither have nor desire any acquaintance) rather than in the honourable activities of peace."[16]

The similarity between More and Pico in their attitude towards public office becomes more notable when one considers that Pico's position was not that of the typical Italian humanist, who tended to feel that he had an obligation to use his learning in the service of a state. Three humanists—Salutati, Bruni, and Poggio—served Florence successively as chancellors of the Signory; Machiavelli was secretary to the Council of Ten during the Florentine republic (1498–1512), was sent on numerous diplomatic missions, and was in charge of the unsuccessful defenses of the city at the time of the Medici restoration. Pico was out of step with the humanistic movement in his attitude towards public service; he was more otherworldly, more medieval, if such omnibus terms be permitted, than his fellow-humanists. More's position seems almost too similar to be entirely

[14] P. S. Allen, ed., *Opus Epistolarum Des. Erasmi Roterodami* (Oxford, 1906–1947), IV, 15. Translation from F. M. Nichols, *The Epistles of Erasmus* (London, 1901–1918), III, 390–391.

[15] Quoted in Thomas Stapleton, *The Life . . . of Sir Thomas More,* translated by P. E. Hallett (London, 1928), p. 78.

[16] *Utopia,* translated by G. C. Richards (Oxford, 1923), p. 7.

coincidental. All of which only serves to make the omission of the passage about Pico's unwillingness to become a cardinal more mystifying. We shall probably never know what More's motive was.

More's other alterations are easier to explain and somewhat less important. For the sake of completeness all which are of any length or interest will be noted. Some were made because Gianfrancesco's personal comments were clearly inappropriate in More's biography; others were probably made because More translated the life of Pico as a gift for a nun, Joyce Leigh.

The two passages omitted because they are out of place in the translation are those with which Gianfrancesco begins and ends his biography. The deleted introductory passage gives Gianfrancesco's reason for writing about his uncle's life. It is not a personal one, he says, but rather the desire that Pico's life may be a guide to strengthen the faith of others.[17] More suggests the same idea in his letter of dedication to Joyce Leigh. More further deletes material describing Pico's brothers and sisters and Gianfrancesco's relationship to Pico. He replaces this with his longest original passage; it contains some typically humanistic ideas of honor which may well have been prompted by More's desire to uphold the honor of his own family. This insertion runs as follows:

For these [*i.e.,* learning and virtue] be the thinges, whiche we may accompt for our owne: of which euery man is more properly to be commended, then of the noblenes of his auncesters: whose honour maketh vs not honorable. For either they were themself verteouse or not: if not, then had thei none honour themself: had thei neuer so great possessions: for honour is the reward of vertue. And howe maie they clayme the rewarde that properly longeth to vertue: if they lacke the vertue, that the rewarde longeth to? Then if themselfe had none honour: how might they leaue to their heires that thing which thei had not themselues? On the other syde, if they be vertuouse, & so consequently honorable: yet maye they not leaue theyr honour to vs as inheritantes, no more then the vertue that themselfe wer honorable for. For neuer the more noble be we for theyr noblenes, if our selfe lack those thinges for whiche they were noble: But rather the more worshipfull that our auncesters wer, the more vyle and shamefull be we, if we declyne from the steppes of theyr woorshipful liuing: The cleare beautie of whose vertue maketh the darke spot of our vyce the more euidentlye to appeare and to be the more marked. But Picus, of whom we spake, was himself so honorable for the great plenteous abundance of al such vertues, the possession whereof very honour foloweth (as a shadow foloweth a body) that he was to al them that aspyre to honoure a verye spectacle: in whose con-

[17] Pico, *Opera,* a i[r].

dicions as in a clere polished myrroure, they myght beholde in what poyntes very honour standeth. Whose marueylous cunning and excellent vertue, though my rude learning bee farre vnable sufficiently to expresse: yet for as much as if no man should dooe it, but he that might sufficientlye dooe it, no man should dooe it: and better it wer to be vnsufficiently done, then vtterly vndone. I shall therfore (as I can) briefly rehearce you hys whole life: at the lestwise to geue some other man hereafter (that can dooe it better) occasion to take it in hand, when it shall happely greue him to see the lyfe of such an excellent cunning man, so farre vncunninglye written.[18]

More's declaration of his lack of ability to write Pico's life sounds a good deal like the speeches in which newly elected speakers of the House of Commons traditionally disabled themselves; More was to give such an oration himself in 1523. The addition may well have been intended as an exercise in English style—More wrote several at about this time. The style is notably better in the insertion than in most of the translated passages, where Sir Thomas's English is often nearly as convoluted as Gianfrancesco's Latin.

More also deletes the last two and a half pages of the Latin text as inappropriate in his biography; he replaces them with a single paragraph of his own. Gianfrancesco's conclusion praises Pico lavishly and exhorts the reader to emulate Pico's life. In the only passage of any interest Gianfrancesco relates that a prophetic nun told Pico two years before his death that he would die in the time of lilies. The prophecy was fulfilled in an unexpected manner when Pico died surrounded by the *fleurs-de-lis* of France on 17 November 1494, the very day on which Charles VIII entered Florence.[19] More substitutes this concluding paragraph:

Now sith it is so, that he is adiudged to that fire, from whiche he shal vndoutedly depart vnto glorie, and no man is sure how longe it shalbe first: and maie be the shorter time for our intercessions: Let euery christen body shew their charitie vpon him to helpe to spede him thether, where after the long habitacion with the inhabitauntes of this darke world, (to whom his goodly conuersacion gaue great light) and after the darke fire of purgatorie (in which, veniall offences be clensed) he maie shortly (if he be not alreadie) entre the inaccessible and infinite light of heauen, where he maie in the presence of the soueraigne godhed so praie for vs, that we maie the rather by his intercession be parteners of that inspekable ioye, which we haue prayed to bring him spedely to. Amen.

Here endeth the life of John Picus Earle of Mirandula.[20]

[18] *English Works* (1557), a.i^{r}–a.i^{v}; *English Works* (1931), I, 349.
[19] Pico, *Opera*, a xi^{r}.
[20] *English Works* (1557), a.v^{v}; *English Works* (1931), I, 362.

It is surprising that More should express doubt that prayers of the living may aid souls in purgatory: their sufferings are only "*maybe* the shorter" because of our intercessions.

Several of More's omissions were probably prompted by his desire to write a devotional book for a nun, Joyce Leigh. Joyce, to whom the *Life of Pico* is dedicated, was a minoress of Aldgate and sister of More's friend Edward Leigh or Lee, later to be archbishop of York after Wolsey's fall. Joyce and her brother seem to have been among More's friends since childhood. The biography, then, was translated as a private devotional work and was not originally intended for publication.[21]

More deletes three passages which might have been unsuitable for Joyce's reading. One deals with the Cabala, another with Pico's supposedly divine nature, and the third with Savonarola. The first of these gives the sources of Pico's nine hundred propositions:

> Multa de Cabala: hoc est secreta Haebreorum dogmatum receptione: Cuius et Origenes: et Hilarius ex nostris potissimum comminiscuntur: Quaestionibus illis intexuit: multa etiam de naturali magia / quam non paruo interstitio / ab impia et scelesta seperari edocuit: Idque multorum testimonio elegantissime comprobauit: Nec duo et septuaginta noua dogmata physica et metaphysica / propria inuenta / et meditata / ad quascunque philosophiae quaestiones elucidandas / accomodata defuerint: His nouam per numeros philosophandi institutionem adnexuit.[22]

More probably thought that Joyce would not have understood a reference to the Cabala and natural magic; most nuns of her day were not highly educated. He may have known better than Pico the worthless nature of the Cabala and have hesitated to connect his hero with it. It is also possible that anti-Jewish feeling in England was so strong that More thought it wise not to mention a Hebrew book; the opposition to Hebrew studies manifested in the Reuchlin affair was not limited to Germany.

Gianfrancesco wrote that in earlier times his uncle might have been thought divine—"Nunc igitur si prisca illa aetas Maconum tempore protulisset / si Aristoteli credimus diuinum illum uirum appelauisset".[23] More does not translate this; probably neither he nor Joyce would have thought that any man should be called divine.

[21] It was not printed until 1510, when John Rastell published an authorized and Wynkyn de Worde a pirated edition. This fact has caused considerable confusion in dating More's actual work of translation.

[22] Pico, *Opera*, a ii^{r}.

[23] *Ibid.*, a vii^{v}.

Near the end of the biography, More further deletes two sentences introducing Savonarola's sermon on Pico's death, although he translates the summary of the sermon itself. He may have wished to remind Joyce as little as possible about a man who had been condemned by the church.[24]

Desire for brevity seems to have prompted two of More's omissions, although their lack of interest for Joyce may also have been a factor. One of these is More's longest omission; the deleted text comprises seven pages of the first edition of Pico's works, a folio volume, and is therefore too long for full quotation here.[25] The passage discusses Pico's theological and philosophical study and writings. His efforts to reconcile Plato and Aristotle in the treatise *De ente et uno* are mentioned, as are his interpretations of the Old Testament and of certain psalms, his treatise against astrologers, and his *Heptaplus,* a commentary on the first twenty-six verses of the first chapter of Genesis. It is noted that Pico attacked belief in faith without works. Gianfrancesco says that Pico was harsh with dangerous, confirmed heretics, but recommended milder treatment for less malignant ones. It is interesting that More omits this section, since his later works show that he adopted basically the same position himself. The Latin here runs:

Pro morborum item qualitate idoneam opem admouere tentabat tetros scilicet morbos / et suapte natura impuros / acribus acerbisque medicaminibus inurere: ea uero uulnera quae minori infecta malitia deprauataque forent circatricemque obducere desyderarent: lenibus placibilibusque fouere / adeptis uero ualitudinem et recidiua metuentibus / saluberrimas potiones / celebrataque antidota preparare.[26]

Gianfrancesco also mentions that Pico left many unfinished works when he died. Some were defenses of the church against its enemies, while others were philosophical treatises based upon "udum Thalerem, ignitum Heraclitum, circumfusumque atomis Democritum, Orpheus item, et Pythagoras"—watery Thales, fiery Heraclitus, atomy Democritus, also Orpheus and Pythagoras—as well as Avicenna, Averroes, Aquinas, and Duns Scotus.[27] Many of Pico's minor works are listed: an interpretation of the Lord's Prayer, rules for

[24] *Ibid.*, a x^{r}.
[25] *Ibid.*, a iii^{r}-a vi^{r}.
[26] *Ibid.*, a iiii^{v}.
[27] *Ibid.*, a v^{r}. The references are, of course, to the physical theories of the ancient philosophers. Thales thought that water was the most important of the four elements; Heraclitus held that it was fire; Democritus had an atomic theory of sorts.

living well, prayers in various meters, and about fifty letters. Gianfrancesco notes Pico's style, which he says was always appropriate and was modeled on that of classical Roman writers. He adds, however, that Pico attacked those who devoted too much attention to classical secular writings and did not study sacred letters sufficiently. He mentions Pico's large library and the speed with which he read and wrote out extracts from all kinds of books. He says that Aquinas was Pico's favorite theologian.

All this More omits; in its place he gives a short summary of his own:

> From thenceforth he gaue him self daye and night most feruently to the studies of scripture, in which he wrote many noble bokes, which well testifie both his angelike wit, his ardent labour, and his profounde erudicion: of whiche bokes, some we haue, & some (as an inestimable tresure) we haue lost. Great libraries, it is incredible to considre, with how meruelouse celeritee he readde them ouer, & wrote out what him liked, of the olde fathers of the church, so great knowlage he had, as it were harde for him to haue, that hath liued long, and all his life hath doone nothing els, but reade them. Of these newer diuines so good iudgement he had, that it might appere, there were nothing in any of them, that were vnknowen to him: but al thing as ripe as though he had al their workes euer before his eies.[28]

Another passage of some length is probably omitted because of More's desire to be concise. More writes that Pico was "alwaie wandering and flitting, & wolde neuer take him selfe to any certeyne dwelling";[29] Gianfrancesco goes on to say that Pico preferred Florence because of the Platonic Academy there, because he could associate there with Poliziano and Ficino, and because the study of good letters was more cultivated in Florence than anywhere else except in Bologna.[30]

Two of More's minor omissions may have been suggested by the unsettled nature of Henry VIII's foreign relations in 1504. One is a reference to confirmation by the Holy Roman Emperor, Maximilian, of Gianfrancesco's purchase of family lands from Pico.[31] The other tells how Pico's death was taken by the French, who desired to honor him no less in death than they had in life.[32]

There remains one surprising change which More makes in trans-

[28] *English Works* (1557), a.ii^{v}–a.iii^{r}; *English Works* (1931), I, 353–354.
[29] *English Works* (1557), a.iiii^{v}; *English Works* (1931), I, 359.
[30] Pico, *Opera*, a viii^{r}.
[31] *Ibid.*, a vii^{v}.
[32] *Ibid.*, a x^{r}.

lating. Discussing Pico's learning, he writes that his knowledge was "in him so muche the more meruelouse, in that he came therto by him self with the strength of his owne witte, for the loue of god and profit of his church, without maisters".[33] The Latin reads, "Haec quoque ea admirabiliora erant. Cum a se ipso ui ingenii / et ueritatis amore / quasi absque preceptore assequutus esset."[34] More translates "veritatis amore" as "love of God and profit of his church"! This is exceedingly interesting because it illustrates well a change of attitude towards the relationship between philosophy and religion. Humanists generally objected that scholasticism had been so much interested in spinning webs of subtle philosophy that it had lost true, warm, emotional religion in philosophical abstractions. More seems to wish to introduce a concrete God rather than an abstract truth and to have religion set above philosophy.

The biography is preceded in the Latin original by a letter of dedication to Ludovico Maria Sforza, duke of Milan. Here Gianfrancesco said that men may have two reasons for writing biographies: one is to save the names of their subjects from oblivion, while the other is to aid those who survive to live better lives by giving them a model. It was for the second reason that Gianfrancesco wrote. He believed that his uncle would be admired by his own and succeeding generations not only because he instructed them in frugality and warned them of impending death but also because he had won first place among all learned men of his own day, not to mention those of antiquity.[35]

More's praise of Pico in his own dedicatory letter to Joyce Leigh is only slightly less fulsome. After suggesting that his spiritual New Year's gift to her is better than a material one, he speaks thus of Pico's writings:

> The werkes are suche, that truely, good syster, I suppose of the quantyte there cometh none in your hande more profitable, neyther to thachyuynge of temperaunce in prosperite, nor to the purchasynge of pacience in aduersite, nor to the dyspysynge of worldly vanyte, nor to the desyrynge of heuenly felycyte, whiche werkes I wolde requyre you gladly to receyue, ne were hit that they be suche that for the goodly mater (how so euer they be translated) may delyte and please ony persone that hathe ony meane desyre and loue to God.[36]

Although many of More's alterations are interesting in themselves, it is rather difficult to draw any general conclusions from

[33] *English Works* (1557), a.iii^{r}; *English Works* (1931), I, 355.
[34] Pico, *Opera*, a vii^{r}.
[35] *Ibid.*, second leaf (no signature).
[36] Rogers, *Correspondence*, p. 10.

them. Since he omits most of the discussion of Pico's philosophical works and studies, it appears that More was more interested in the spiritual side of Pico and less in his intellectual labors. Joyce Leigh's interests, of course, may have partly determined this emphasis. Still, More's translation seems to picture "the change in Pico from extremely daring humanism to Christian humility, charity and discipline"[37] more clearly than Gianfrancesco's original biography. If More did this consciously—and his insertion of the phrase "by the express commandment of God" into the narration of the change may indicate that he did—then the *Life of Pico* stands as a monument to an important crisis in More's own life and a testimony to Pico's influence upon him at a critical time. It may even have provided More with a justification for the decision that he made.

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[37] A. W. Reed, introduction to *English Works* (1931), I, 19.

Seyssel, Machiavelli, and Polybius VI: the Mystery of the Missing Translation

SOMEWHERE BETWEEN 1510 and 1520, Niccolò Machiavelli composed the *Discorsi sopra la Prima Deca di Tito Livio.*[1] The second chapter of that work contains what for Machiavelli is a rather elaborate theoretical disquisition. It deals with such arcane matters as the origin of civil polities, the beginnings of law, the forms of political rule, and the succession that those forms naturally follow in their historical sequence.[2] Never before and never again did Machiavelli concern himself in so concentrated a way with the higher and more ghostly issues of political theory. Never before and never again was Machiavelli literally so un-Machiavellian. In Chapter 2 of Book I of the *Discorsi* he was literally un-Machiavellian in the simple sense that he cribbed most of that chapter without acknowledgement from another writer. In so doing he initiated a minor literary mystery—the Mystery of the Missing Translation or the Puzzle of Polybius VI.

For it was sections of the sixth book of the *History of Rome* written by Polybius of Megalopolis in the second century B.C. that provided Machiavelli with the general structure and much of the specific detail of Chapter 2 of Book I of the *Discorsi.*[3] The puzzle of

[1] For a discussion of the date of composition of the *Discorsi* see Felix Gilbert, "Review-Discussion: The Composition and Structure of Machiavelli's *Discorsi*", *Journal of the History of Ideas* XIV (1953), 136–156.

Attempts to extend the terminal date of the *Discorsi* past 1519 are based on:

1. An event, an attack on Genoa, mentioned in the *Discorsi,* whose dating is very uncertain and *possibly* after 1519 (*Discorsi sopra la Prima Deca di Tito Livio,* II, 24, hereafter cited as *Discorsi.* Citations from Machiavelli's works will hereafter give pages in the Mazzoni and Casella edition of *Tutte le Opere Storiche e Letterarie* (Florence, 1929). Citations from the *Discorsi* will give in addition the page in Leslie Walker's translation, *The Discourses of Niccolò Machiavelli* (2 vols., New Haven, 1950). The passage from *Discorsi* II, 24 is at Mazzoni and Casella, p. 179b, Walker I, 433.)

2. A remark in the preface to the Giunta edition of 1531 implying that Machiavelli entertained an unfulfilled intention of revising the *Discorsi,* quoted in Niccolò Machiavelli, *Il Principe,* ed. A. L. Burd (Oxford, 1891), p. 180, n. 1.

3. The way the *Discorsi* trails off without any sort of conclusion.

Father Leslie Walker has offered persuasive evidence that the events in Genoa referred to in *Discorsi* II, 24 occurred in 1515 (I, 43–44). I hope to show shortly in an essay on the composition of the *Discorsi* that the remark in the Giunta edition becomes intelligible in view of the way Machiavelli put the *Discorsi* together, that his way of putting it together accounts for the way the *Discorsi* trails off, and that the hypothesis of an uncompleted process of composition is not necessary to account for the trailing off. Any attempt to establish a late date for the completion of the *Discorsi* has to cope with the fact that Cosimo Rucellai, to whom, along with Zanobi Buondelmonti, the *Discorsi* was dedicated, was alive when it was dedicated and dead in 1519.

[2] *Discorsi* I, 2: Mazzoni and Casella, pp. 59a–62b; Walker I, 211–216.

[3] Polybius, *The Histories,* with an English translation by W. R. Paton (6 vols., Loeb Classical Library, 1922–1927).

Polybius VI does not concern Machiavelli's use of Polybius in general. Machiavelli almost certainly used Polybius in *Il Principe*.[4] It concerns only the sixth book of Polybius; and it concerns that book because a chain of good if not irrefragible clues seems to show that in the ordinary course of things Machiavelli should not have been able to crib that particular bit of the wisdom of the ancients. The first two clues have to do with what can be inferred from a study of his work about Machiavelli's reading habits. The first inference is that he rarely if ever read manuscripts of the classics. This inference is based on the established fact that all the works of ancient writers that Machiavelli certainly used in his books were certainly in print by the time he used them.[5] Except one. The second inference is that he read no Greek. Although in his time among the *cognoscenti* dropping Greek tags was the equivalent of name-dropping today, Machiavelli never dropped a Greek tag. Moreover, of every passage of every Greek author certainly used by Machiavelli, there existed at the time he wrote a printed translation into Latin.[6] Except one.

The exception was Polybius VI. Not all of Polybius. Of the first five books there did exist a printed translation in Latin.[7] But not of Book VI. Of this book no complete edition in Greek or Latin had been published before Machiavelli's death.[8] Moreover, no surviving manuscript translation of Polybius VI into Latin dates from before the 1520s, and there is no sure evidence that any such translation existed—except the evidence of Chapter 2 of Book I of the *Discorsi*.[9] Indeed from what I have been able to learn from inquiries addressed to scholars far better informed than I, there is no evidence that any Italian author had used Polybius VI before Machiavelli did. One can never satisfactorily demonstrate a negative of this sort, of course; yet at the very least the circumstances indicate that if Polybius VI was

[4] *Il Principe*, Chapter 13: Mazzoni and Casella, p. 28a. For all other possible loans from Polybius some other equally possible source can be found. I have been able to find, however, no other possible source for the observations on Hiero in chapter 13. The reference is to Polybius I, IX.

[5] Walker has a complete list of the works referred to, or possibly referred to, with or without acknowledgement, in the *Discorsi* (II, 271–305).

[6] Walker (see note 5) supplies references to the printed Latin translations available to Machiavelli for citation.

[7] *Polybii Historiarum Libri Superstites in Lat. Sermonem Conversi a N. Perotto* (Rome, 1473). Walker (II, 290) also refers to a later edition printed in Venice in 1498.

[8] The first edition of Polybius containing the surviving fragment of Book VI and later books of his history was published in 1549. The old Perotto translation was used for the first five books. Musculus translated the fragments of the remaining books.

[9] I owe this information to Prof. Beatrice Reynolds, who has made a thorough investigation of the Latin MS. translations of Polybius.

known at all in Italy before Machiavelli used it, it was little considered.

That Machiavelli used a manuscript translation into Latin or Italian of Polybius VI follows from the peculiarities of Chapter 2 of *Discorsi* I. For although in that chapter he occasionally summarizes briefly a long passage of Polybius VI, Machiavelli frequently paraphrases rather fully, and at least once he translates verbatim.[10] It is hard to see how he could have done this, lacking a knowledge of Greek, unless he had a translation (or at least a translator) at his elbow as he wrote. The Puzzle of Polybius VI is how Machiavelli, who rarely worked with manuscripts and did not read Greek, came to be, as far as we know, the first Italian to use a Greek book that had not been printed in Greek or Latin and, again as far as we know, had not been translated into Latin at all when Machiavelli wrote.

Now we may be able to offer a fairly plausible solution to this puzzle, but a story, a rather rambling and disjointed sort of story, goes with it—the story of an Italian, a Savoyard, and two Greeks. We have already met the Italian and one of the Greeks—Machiavelli and Polybius. The Savoyard was Claude Seyssel.[11]

Seyssel was a jurist and a churchman. He died in 1520, Archbishop of Turin. Before he began his rise in the ecclesiastical hierarchy, he made his career in the service of the King of France. For about two decades up to 1515 he had acted for the French king in various capacities—as his agent in Milan and as his emissary to the Swiss and to the English. Finally Louis XII sent Seyssel to Rome in 1514 to negotiate a settlement of the schism that Louis had got himself involved in. He had earlier rewarded his faithful servant with the bishopric of Marseilles. When the old king died in 1515, Seyssel decided to withdraw from the court in order to fulfill those episcopal duties that up to then he had let slide. To the new king Francis I Seyssel left a handsome parting gift—the manuscript of a work he had recently composed, *La Grant Monarchie de France*.[12] *La Grant*

[10] Walker II, 7–13, prints the passages from Polybius VI that parallel those of Machiavelli in *Discorsi* I, 2. The passage that Machiavelli presents in nearly *verbatim* translation (Mazzoni and Casella, p. 60b–61a; Walker I, 213–214) is Polybius VI, vii–viii.

[11] The definitive biography of Seyssel from which all the biographical information that follows is drawn is Alberto Caviglia, *Claudio di Seyssel (1450–1520): la Vita nella Storia de' Suoi Tempi* (*Miscellanea di Storia Italiana,* 3d series, Vol. 23, Turin, 1928).

[12] *La Monarchie de France,* Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, Departement des manuscripts, fonds français, 5212; first printed edition, *La Grant Monarchie de France,* Paris, R. Chauldière, 1519. The MS. is the one presented to Francis I. Two references will hereafter be given for citations from the *Grant Monarchie:* 1) to the presentation MS., 2) to the first printed edition. I have preferred the title of the printed edition by which the work was subsequently known. References to the printed edition will appear in parentheses.

Monarchie is at once a book of advice to princes and the first effort to describe the institutions of the French monarchy. It is also a work done in haste. Seyssel says that he wrote it in six weeks, and that while he was working on it travel and the settling of his personal affairs took up most of his time. He had, he says, no books at all by him and had to rely wholly on his memory.[13] And in fact he mentions few authors by name and quotes none directly.

Considering that Seyssel had no books by him and considering also the particular character of his book, the number of parallel passages and general similarities between *La Grant Monarchie* and Polybius VI is rather noteworthy.

1. The general design of *La Grant Monarchie* as explained by Seyssel is notably like the design of the *History of Rome* as Polybius states it both in his preface and in Book VI:

> The best and most valuable result I aim at [says Polybius] is that readers of my work may gain a knowledge how it was and by virtue of what political institutions that in less than fifty-three years the whole world was overcome and fell under the single dominion of Rome. The chief cause of success or the reverse in all matters is the form of a state's polity.[14]

Says Seyssel:

> I try to show how monarchical government is the best of all polities, how that of France is the most civil and best ordered of all monarchies, past and present, and reasons and causes why it attained to this greatness.[15]

2. Seyssel draws on the common stock of classical political thought for his typology of state forms, more or less taking into account the three legitimate forms of monarchy, aristocracy, and the popular state and their corresponding corruptions. But his summary discussion of the passage of states from one form to another is much closer to the brief cyclical systematization in Polybius VI[16] than to Plato's discursive comment[17] or to Aristotle's methodical and elaborate analysis of the causes of revolution.[18] The likeness to Polybius VI appears in the assumption a) that the cause of the transition of each good state form to its corruption lies in the demoralizing effect of power on the ruling class,[19] and b) that the forms follow

[13] *Grant Monarchie* f. 4 (preface).
[14] VI, 2, 3, 9.
[15] *Grant Monarchie*, f. 4^{r}–4^{v} (preface).
[16] Polybius VI, 4, 7–12, VI, 7, 1–9.
[17] *Republic* 543–567.
[18] *Politics* V, 1301a–1316b.
[19] Polybius VI, 7, 1–9; *Grant Monarchie* f. 6^{r}–6^{v} (f. 1^{r}–1^{v}).

one another in some sort of cyclical fashion, impelled by a natural law of growth and decay, that

when all is said none of these states can possibly be perpetual, for ordinarily in the course of time they get worse especially when they go on growing, so it often happens that one rises from the other.[20]

Again Seyssel's general remarks on the decline of states, following his account of the Venetian constitution, do not exactly follow Polybius' general observations on the decline of states. He adds a medieval element in his comparison of states to natural bodies. He writes not as one who has Polybius VI beside him, but perhaps as one who has known the Polybian account and has blended it with his own speculations and observations.

Here is Seyssel's meditation:

From whatever cause, it must come to pass that this regime and all others that are or will be in the world will come to an end. For there is nothing eternal under heaven, and all that begins must end, even these mystical bodies. For they are like material human bodies, which, though created and composed of four contrary elements and humors, for a while may be maintained and kept alive so long as the humors are in harmony. But in the long run one humor must transcend the others, and by dissolution of the bond the mass entirely return to its original condition. For, by the order of nature, once they are assembled all those elements and humors go through increase, stability and decline. When this happens we must aid nature and support the most feeble member and humor, yet when we do try to aid one we injure another. This also happens in the mystical bodies of human society, for after they are assembled in one civil and political union they go on for a while increasing and multiplying; after that they remain stable a while longer; then since they are composed of several discordant and conflicting understandings and wills they begin to decline and finally are annihilated. There are in fact five ages of the mystical as of the human body—infancy the beginning, youth the growth, manhood the apogee [*estat*], old age the decline, and decrepitude the dissolution.[21]

And here is Polybius':

Such is the cycle of political revolution, the course appointed by nature in which constitutions change, disappear, and finally return to the point from which they started. Anyone who clearly perceives this may indeed in speaking of the future of any state be wrong in his estimate of the time the process will take, but if his judgment is not tainted by animosity or jealousy, he will very seldom be mistaken as to the state of growth or decline it has reached, and as

[20] *Grant Monarchie* f. 6^{v} (f. 1^{v}).
[21] *Grant Monarchie* f. 9^{v}–10^{r} (f. 4^{r}–4^{v}).

to the form into which it will change. And especially in the case of the Roman state will this method enable us to arrive at a knowledge of its formation, growth, and likewise of the change for the worse which is sure to follow some day. For as I said, this state, more than any other, has been formed and has grown naturally, and will undergo a natural decline and change to its contrary.[22]

Just as rust in the case of iron and wood-worms and ship-worms in the case of timber are inbred pests, and these substances, even though they escape all external injury, fall a prey to the evils engendered in them, so each constitution has a vice engendered in it, and inseparable from it.[23]

3. Seyssel also shared Polybius' theory of the excellence of a mixed constitution. Now ideas of this kind did not begin with Polybius; in one form or another they are also to be found in Plato[24] and Aristotle.[25] But in Polybius the idea of a mixed state takes a peculiar form.

Like Aristotle he believes the most permanent of practical constitutions . . . to consist in a mixture, but with him it is not the mixture of oligarchy or "aristocracy" with democracy, defined by law, as in Aristotle's *Polity;* but a mixture of monarchy, aristocracy and democracy as found in the Consuls, the Senate and the People of the Roman constitution . . . The chief importance of Polybius . . . lies in his theory of the mixed constitution as distinct from a state of mixed principles only, one in which the supreme governmental authority is compounded of several distinct organs, each set off against the others by the constitution, in which the cooperation of these different organs is essential, and therefore where one of them by withholding it may check and obstruct the action of the rest. Such a system of checks and balances or separation of powers Polybius believed to be the secret of the Spartan polity of Lycurgus, but it was in the Roman constitution that he found its finest exemplification.[26]

There was a good deal to prevent Seyssel from making full use of the Polybian theory. After all he was committed to show not only that France was the best monarchy but that monarchy was the soundest political order.[27] Consequently even had he had Polybius VI at his side—which he surely did not—he could hardly have taken over unmodified a theory tailored for the glorification of the Roman

[22] Polybius VI, 9, 10–16.

[23] Polybius, VI, 10, 3–4.

[24] *Laws,* especially Book VI. For a detailed account of the theory of mixed constitutions in the ancient world, see Kurt von Fritz, *The Theory of the Mixed Constitution in Antiquity* (New York, 1954), especially pp. 76–95.

[25] *Politics* IV, 11–13, 1295a–1301a.

[26] C. H. McIlwain, *The Growth of Political Thought in the West* (New York, 1932), pp. 100–101.

[27] *Grant Monarchie* f. 11^{v} (f. 5^{v}).

republic. Seyssel, however, in the beginning of his treatise set out to prove the superiority of the French monarchy by comparing it with the Venetian aristocracy and the Roman republic. And in dealing with that republic he was considerably less inhibited by precommitments than he was in the case of France. Here in part is what he said:

It passed from the monarchy of the kings to the rule of the Decemvirs and then to popular rule. It was long ruled and governed by the consuls and the Senate under the authority of the people. Under this government it fared best and went on continually expanding. . . . For in truth this state was so arranged that it shared traits of all three forms of rule. The consuls had sovereign authority during their consulate in several matters even when out of the city, and nevertheless the senate made up of personages esteemed the wisest and most prudent of the people held the rudder of the ship in the principal crises, so that scarcely anything of prime importance could be done without its authority. The people, too, had a major role in the government in selecting officers, deciding on peace and war, and several other matters of great importance. . . . For these reasons this was the best form of government of a community and popular empire at that time or since. And experience proves it, because under this regime and government the Romans won the greater part of the world.[28]

Now here is Polybius' introduction to his treatment of the Roman constitution:

The three kinds of polity that I spoke of above all shared in the control of the Roman state. And such fairness and propriety in all respects was shown in the use of these three elements for drawing up the constitution and in its subsequent administration that it was impossible even for a native to pronounce with certainty whether the whole system was aristocratic, democratic, or monarchical. This was indeed only natural, for if one fixed one's eye on the power of the consuls, the institution seemed monarchical and royal; if on that of the Senate it seemed again to be aristocratic, and when one looked at the power of the masses it seemed clearly to be a democracy. . . . When one part having grown out of proportion to the others aims at supremacy and tends to become too predominant, it is evident that, as for the reason given above none of the three is absolute, but the purpose of the one can be counterworked, and thwarted by the others, none of them will excessively outgrow the others or treat them with contempt. . . . Any aggressive impulse is sure to be checked and from the outset each estate stands in dread of being interfered with by the others.[29]

[28] *Grant Monarchie* f. 7[r]–7[v] (f. 1[r]–2[v]).
[29] Polybius VI, 11, 11–12, VI, 18, 5–8.

4. Despite the necessity he was under of demonstrating the superiority of kingship, Seyssel managed to make room for a modified theory of checks and balances in his treatment of two phases of the French monarchical regime. The first was his most famous doctrine: the doctrine that the government of France was a tempered monarchy restrained by three bridles.[30] He writes:

. . . with respect to the disorders which may result from the imperfections of monarchs there are several remedies to check their absolute authority if they are wild and wilful, and more still to check those who may have the custody of the realm if the monarch is entirely incapacitated by youth or otherwise. Yet the royal dignity and authority remains always entire, not totally absolute nor yet too much restrained but regulated and bridled by good laws, ordinances and customs established in such a way that they can scarcely be broken or reduced to nothing, even though in some times and places some infraction and violence is done them. And as to these bridles by which the absolute power of the king of France is regulated I deem that there are three main ones. The first is religion, the second justice, the third *police*.[31]

Seyssel found another application for the theory of checks and balances in his analysis of the politically therapeutic interrelationship of the three estates of the French monarchy. The estates he dealt with were not the clergy, nobility, and third estate of the traditional classification. He separated off the clergy and divided lay France into the nobility, the middle or well-to-do estate, and the lesser or poorer folk. The well-to-do estate, as he points out, has a near monopoly in fact, if not of right, of the higher offices of the judiciary, while the nobility enjoys preëminence in military office.[32] Here is how their respective socio-political positions control the rapport of the three estates according to Seyssel:

. . . if one of the estates falls into disorder the remedies are easier here than anywhere else. For if the estate of the nobility which has arms seeks to outrage one of the other two in general or in particular, judicial power prevents it and chastises the nobility. This judicial power has authority by consent of the king who does not refuse, when proper, to put its force against the rebels, so that there is none so great, be he prince or other, who is not constrained to obey it. Likewise if the popular estate, which is the largest in number, wishes to rebel, as it has done formerly, the nobility is so strong along with the judicial power and those people so feeble in feats of arms that they can be easily brought to and restored to their duty. Thus each estate keeps within its limits, because it is dealt with in such a way that it has reason to be content, and because it recog-

[30] *Grant Monarchie* f. 13^{v}–14^{v} (f. 7^{v}–8^{v}).
[31] *Grant Monarchie* f. 14^{v} (f. 8^{r}–8^{v}).
[32] *Grant Monarchie* f. 18^{v}–20^{r} (f. 12^{r}–13^{v}).

nizes that if it wished to exceed its bounds it could not well do so and would place itself in too great jeopardy. In this way the estates only think to live in good *police,* in concord one with another, and especially in obedience to the king whom for this reason all subjects hold in singular love and reverence.[33]

Considering the actual differences in the political and social structures under investigation this account of Seyssel's of relations within the French monarchy bears marked similarities to Polybius' description of the way Lycurgus organized the Spartan state. Foreseeing the evils that follow when a state is established according to any of the simple patterns of rule—of the one, the few, or the many—Lycurgus

did not make his constitution simple and uniform, but united in it all the good and distinctive features of the best governments, so that none of the principles should grow unduly and be perverted into its allied evil, but that, the force of each being neutralized by that of the others, neither of them should prevail and outbalance another, but that the constitution should remain for long in a state of equilibrium like a well-trimmed boat, kingship being guarded from arrogance by the fear of the commons, who were given a sufficient share in the government, and the commons on the other hand not venturing to treat the kings with contempt from fear of the elders, who being selected from the best citizens would be sure all of them to be always on the side of justice; so that that part of the state which was weakest owing to its subservience to traditional custom, acquired power and weight by the support and influence of the elders. The consequence was that by drawing up his constitution thus he preserved liberty at Sparta for a longer period than is recorded elsewhere.[34]

So it seems likely that within a few years of the time when Machiavelli was using Polybius VI in the *Discorsi,* Claude Seyssel was using it in *La Grant Monarchie.* And that makes the puzzle of Polybius VI puzzlinger and puzzlinger, since it renders it likely that the first two men of the occident to draw extensively on Polybius VI, available at the time neither in print nor, as far as present knowledge goes, in Latin or vernacular manuscript translation, were men who knew no Greek.

From the fact that, except for Polybius VI, Machiavelli used only such Greek writings as were available in Latin translation we inferred that Machiavelli knew no Greek. Paradoxically, from the fact that Claude Seyssel was the first man to translate several Greek works—Xenophon's *Anabasis*[35] and the histories of Diodorus Siculus,[36]

[33] *Grant Monarchie* f. 22^{r}–22^{v} (f. 15^{v}).

[34] Polybius VI, 10, 6–11.

[35] Bibliothèque Nationale, fonds français, MS. 701 (presentation copy to Charles II of Savoy), MS. 702 (presentation copy to Louis XII of France).

[36] Bibliothèque Nationale, fonds français, MS. 712.

Appian,[37] and Thucydides[38]—into French we infer that Seyssel knew no Greek. Seyssel translated none of these Greek works from their original tongue, nor did he rely on older Latin translations, when there were any. Instead he had a Greek scholar translate from the original into Latin or revise the available Latin translation. Then Seyssel translated the Latin translation into French. Seyssel's collaborator was always the same Greek scholar. His name was Janus Lascaris. The account that Seyssel gives of his method of working with Lascaris on the *Anabasis* may stand for all his accounts of their collaboration, for the stories are much alike.

> Having long understood that among several treatises that he produced Xenophon of Athens had written a history of the journey that Cyrus, son of King Darius of Persia, made . . . in the said land of Persia against Artaxerxes his brother . . . I often tried to find this journey in writing; but I was never able to find it until the month of March last when, you Sire, being in your town of Blois after your return from Lyons, I went by your command to see your very magnificent and extraordinary library, and with me was master Janus Lascaris, a man excelling in both Greek and Latin literature, your present ambassador to Venice, a native of the city of Constantinople, of very ancient and noble lineage. While he was seeking some works written in Greece his hands fell upon this history . . . and considering it well worth being known and understood by your majesty . . . I begged the said Lascaris to translate and explain that history in Latin for me so that I could translate it from Latin into French, which he did very gladly as one who with all his heart desires to do the thing agreeable to you.[39]

We said that the story that went with our attempt to unwind the puzzle of Polybius VI was the story of an Italian and a Savoyard and two Greeks. Lascaris is the second Greek. He is also the key character in the story. No doubt Janus Lascaris did "with all his heart desire to do the thing agreeable" to Louis XII. In a long and varied life he not only desired with all his heart to do agreeable things for a sizable number of the great of Europe; he appears to have achieved his heart's desire.[40] He specialized in Medici and Valois, enjoying at

[37] Bibliothèque Nationale, fonds français, MS. 713.

[38] Bibliothèque Nationale, fonds français, MS. 17211.

[39] Bibliothèque Nationale, fonds français, MS. 702, ff. 13, 22–23. See also MS. 712, proheme; MS. 713, f. Q^{v}; MS. 17211, ff. 5–5^{v}.

[40] Information on the career of Janus Lascaris in the following works: John E. Sandys, *A History of Classical Scholarship* (Cambridge, 1908), II, 78–9; L. Delaruelle, "La Carrière de Janus Lascaris depuis 1494", *Revue du Seizième Siècle* XIII (1926), 95–111; Émile Legrand, *Bibliographie Hellénique . . . XV^{e} et XVI^{e} Siècles* (Paris, 1885), I, cxxxi–clxii, II, 322–336; Pierre de Nolhac, "Inventoire des Manuscrits Grecs de Jean Lascaris", *Mélanges d' Archéologie et d'Histoire* VI (1886), 251–74; Börje Knös, *Un Ambassadeur de l'Hellénisme—Janus Lascaris* (Upsala, 1945).

various times the confidence of Lorenzo, Piero, and Giovanni de' Medici and of Charles VIII, Louis XII, and Francis I.

Janus Lascaris was born perhaps in Rhyndacus in Asia Minor in 1445, eight years before the Turks took Constantinople. He claimed descent from a line of Byzantine emperors. He fled to Italy from conquered Byzantium in his early manhood. In Italy he won the assistance of that ever-present help to his exiled fellow-countrymen, Cardinal Bessarion. The cardinal sent Lascaris, already apparently a promising scholar, to Padua to learn Latin, and the young man was still there when his great friend died in 1472. Deprived by death of the patronage of the most eminent Greek in Italy, Lascaris, who appears to have been particularly good at this sort of thing, very shortly acquired the patronage of the successor to Bessarion's pre-eminence, Chalcondylas. At any rate it has been suggested that Chalcondylas' influence opened Lascaris' way to a better-than-average good fortune for a scholar by bringing him to Florence and introducing him to Lorenzo de' Medici. Lascaris was not the kind to be languid in the pursuit of the opportunity open to him. He was soon lecturing in Florence to large and enthusiastic crowds, and a little later he succeeded in persuading Lorenzo to make him his agent for a manuscript hunt in the east. The arrangement was mutually profitable. It got Lorenzo a big batch of Greek manuscripts and it got Janus Lascaris what he may have been aiming at, the realization of a classical scholar's dream, the job of librarian to the Medici collection. Still in that capacity, he made another manuscript-business trip to the Orient in 1491, and when he got back Lorenzo was dead. But Lascaris kept his job and won the favor of Lorenzo's successor Piero. The French invasion of Italy in 1494 and the subsequent fall of the Medici may have somewhat diminished the attractions of Florence for Janus, who throughout a long life was blessed with an infallible understanding of which side his bread was buttered on. At any rate among the treasures of the efflorescence of Renaissance culture in Italy that the French brought back with them to their homeland was Janus Lascaris. The fine intuition that had served him so well in Italy was not adversely affected by the mountain crossing, and in a short while Lascaris had his wagon firmly hitched to the ascendent star of the Cardinal d'Amboise, who for more than a decade was to relieve his master Louis XII of most of the obnoxious responsibilities and chores which ruling the largest country in Europe inevitably entailed. The only disagreeable effect of the transformation of the Greek from an Italian into a Frenchman was a crude and

tasteless Florentine charge that he had made away with *"alcuni volumi in greco specialmente"* from the Laurentian library. The wounds that the churlish accusation of the Florentines may have inflicted on Lascaris' spirit were, perhaps, made less agonizing by his appointment first on a special mission to Milan and then in 1503 as resident ambassador from France to the Venetian republic. He remained at that post until 1509 when, bound together by a solemn league and a common greed for Venetian territory, most of western Europe went to war against the republic of the lagoons. The next four years of Lascaris' career are obscure. We have little information about him except that he seems to have been at Milan again in 1510 and at Rome in 1511, still in the French service. This period is marked by the only cloud—rather a faint haze—that darkened the otherwise very sunny career of our learned hero. He seems to have fallen under some shadow with Louis XII, for he wrote to Guillaume Budé for assistance to restore him to the warm nourishing sunlight of royal favor.

By 1513 the threatening cloud had passed away. Lascaris, back in the French king's good graces, was at Casale, whence he was sent to Rome to negotiate with the new pope, Leo X. In Rome he was indeed *bien venu.* The pope was a Medici, head of a family that Lascaris was already well accustomed to dealing with. The Byzantine scholar was not many months in Rome before Leo decided to found a college for young Greek refugees with, naturally, Lascaris as head. This either sets at rest the canard about Lascaris' informal assumption of custody over several Greek manuscripts of the Laurentian collection or indicates that Lorenzo's son was not afflicted with a niggling concern to account for every item once in his father's possession. In any case a change in milieu may not have come unwelcome to Lascaris since in 1513 the fortunes of France, although no longer so deeply mired as in the preceding year, were still not riding in the high, wide, and handsome way to which he had become accustomed. Now for a few moments we leave the outer Lascaris high in the favor of the passionately humanist and Hellenist Medici pope and turn to the inner man, whose erudition, among other more practical capacities, was responsible for an unusually happy career.

That erudition was genuine and extensive, and it was combined with solid industry. Lascaris worked hard and successfully to propagate the knowledge of Greek and of Greek authors in the west. He did not share the contempt for the vernacular that afflicted a good many humanists and was willing to lend what help he could toward

translating the great (and not so great) works of Greek writers into languages that ordinary men habitually read. He himself edited a number of Greek works. He brought out editions of the hymns of Callimachus, of four plays by Euripides, of the Greek Anthology. He also translated Greek works into Latin, especially Greek histories. He rendered this service for Xenophon's *Anabasis,* for Thucydides, for Appian, for Diodorus Siculus. These translations were not, as far as is known, ever published; as we have seen, they provided the basis for Seyssel's French versions of these works. Only one fragment of Lascaris' work as a translator of Greek historians into Latin was ever published. In 1529, it is said without his permission, some one printed the *De militia romanorum.*[41] The text and the translation were the work of Lascaris. The original was the work of Polybius. Of Lascaris' interest in Polybius there is further evidence—a manuscript of Polybius' history once owned by Lascaris and annotated by him.[42] Now Lascaris died a few years after the publication of the *De militia romanorum;* but it is most doubtful that he took to annotating Polybius and editing and translating a bit of the history as a work of penance *in extremis.* It is rather more likely that the Byzantine erudite, deeply read in the whole literature of ancient Greece, had early found in that other Greek whom, at an interval of 1600 years, he had followed into exile in Italy a congenial companion. At least they had in common a solid capacity for making good far from home. The significant facts for the mystery of the missing translation are that Lascaris' copy of Polybius included what survives of Book VI, and that the *De militia romanorum* is precisely the military section of that book.[43]

Now if Lascaris' interest in Polybius was of early date, we can understand why one of the first men in the west to use Polybius VI was a Savoyard who knew no Greek, Claude Seyssel. After all, for several years Seyssel worked closely on the translation of Greek historians with a Greek who owned a copy of Polybius containing Book VI, a Greek whose edition and translation of part of that book, published later, was prepared how much before publication it is impossible to say. Under such circumstances the occasions and oppor-

[41] *De Militia Romanorum et Castrorum Metatione Liber . . . a Jano Lascare in Latinam Linguam translatus* (Venice, 1529).

[42] *Catalogus Codicum Manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Regiae* (Paris, 1739–1744), II, 382. Under item 1648: "Polybii historiarum libri quinque. In marginibus breves annotationes rerum et vocum praecipuarum, notarum illarum, nî fallor, auctor Janus Lascaris." The *Inventaire Sommaire des Manuscrits Grecs* (Paris, 1888–1898), under the same item 1648, indicates that the MS. contains Polybius VI.

[43] It corresponds to Polybius VI, 19–42.

tunities for Seyssel to become familiar with Polybius VI were innumerable. That he did become familiar with it, certain passages of his *Grant Monarchie* have led us to suspect.

By now the interlinking of our Italian, our Savoyard, and our two Greeks has become quite intricate. We have Seyssel linked to Polybius, we have Seyssel linked to Lascaris, we have Lascaris linked to Polybius, and finally we have Machiavelli linked to Polybius—Polybius VI, that is. Two further links—Seyssel-Machiavelli, Machiavelli-Lascaris—would establish a complete round-robin. But though in Rome in 1514 there may have been a very feeble indirect link between Seyssel and Machiavelli through Francesco Vettori, that possibility does not bear on the puzzle of Polybius VI. On the other hand, a link between Lascaris and Machiavelli might very much bear on the puzzle. For our examination of the linkages among Seyssel, Lascaris, and Polybius suggested that the intermediary between the untranslated work of the ancient Greek and the Savoyard, who knew Latin but no Greek, was the Byzantine Greek who knew all four: Greek and Latin, the ancient author, and the living Savoyard. A link between Lascaris and our Italian who knew no Greek might suggest a similar intermediation as a plausible solution to the puzzle of Polybius VI. Is there any link between Lascaris and Machiavelli? I think there is, but to find it we shall have to follow the career of Lascaris a little beyond the point where we dropped it.

From 1513 to 1518, Lascaris was in Italy, mainly in Rome, working on the organization of the papal institute of Hellenic studies and taking charge of some of the editorial work performed by the new institute. As always he had other irons in the fire. He served as head of a special mission from Pope Leo to Francis I, when the latter's victory at Marignano suggested that a rapprochement with France might at the moment best accord with papal and Medici interests in Italy. As he had been doing ever since his first coming to Italy, he pressed at every opportunity the cause of an anti-Turk crusade for the emancipation of Greece. Nineteenth-century philhellenes were not the first to discover that the Greek cause might be both honorable and profitable to its promoters. Finally Lascaris was briefly concerned with a project for establishing in Florence an institute like the one he had set up at Rome.

Now to what place in Florence would an eminent Greek scholar under papal patronage go between 1513 and 1518 where he might meet Niccolò Machiavelli? Where in general was he likely to go in

Florence? Well, one of the first places he was likely to go was the Rucellai gardens, the Orti Oricellari. In the first place the owner of the gardens, a most hospitable host, was the pope's close cousin Cosimo Rucellai.[44] It was in fact a place where the pope himself went when he came to Florence in 1515. And, in the second place, in the Orti Oricellari met the Florentine intellectuals most interested in classical studies.

In that coterie Byzantine scholars, mines of knowledge of Hellenic history and literature, found a ready audience. Under Cosimo Rucellai the gatherings in his gardens came as near as anything in their day to carrying on the tradition of concern to understand Hellenic culture that had earlier flourished in the Florentine Academy in the days of Lorenzo de' Medici. Indeed the link between the academy and the Orti was not only a link of the spirit. The leading light of the academy had been Marsilio Ficino. His pupil and successor as the leader of Florentine Platonism was Francesco da Diacceto, and Diacetto was himself an habitué of the Rucellai gardens. Luigi Alamanni, Giangiorgio Trissino, and Giovanni Rucellai, three poets and scholars most concerned to bring classical tradition to bear on Italian literature, were members of the Rucellai group. Trissino, the eminent Venetian humanist, joined the Rucellai circle whenever his travels took him through Florence. Alamanni was at the very heart of the coterie, and Giovanni Rucellai, one of the first two Italians to write a tragedy in the Greek mode (the other was Trissino), was Cosimo's uncle. These men with others of the group made a series of experiments in the adaptation of the literary forms of Greek poetry—the tragedy, the epic, the didactic poem, the eclogue, the elegy, the satire, the ode, the epigram—to the modern tongue of Italy. Deeply to study the ancients, both the Romans and the Greeks, to understand their language, their thought, their way of life, and to apply the learning so acquired to their own writing and living, this was the very reason for being of the Rucellai circle.

Granted that the Orti Oricellari was the *natural* place for Lascaris to go when—or if—he went to Florence during his time of service with Leo X, did he in fact go there? Is there any evidence to connect Lascaris with the Rucellai circle? with the Orti Oricellari? The answer on both counts is yes. In 1521 he was writing to Cosimo

[44] For discussion of the Rucellai circle from which the following account is drawn see Henri Hauvette, *Un Exilé Florentin: . . . Luigi Alamanni* (Paris, 1903), pp. 3–21; Luigi Passerini, *Degli Orti Oricellari* (Florence, 1854); Felix Gilbert, "Bernardo Rucellai and the Orti Oricellari . . .", *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* XII (1949), 101–131; Felix Gilbert, "Structure and Composition", pp. 150–2.

Rucellai's uncle Giovanni in terms and on matters that indicated a close friendship.[45] When Cosimo died in 1519, Lascaris wrote a poem to lament his premature taking-off.[46] Antonio Brucioli, a Venetian erudite, and a frequenter of the Orti Oricellari when in Florence, wrote a number of dialogues, one of which has for its setting the Rucellai gardens. In the course of that dialogue Cosimo says to Giangiorgio Trissino:

"If I remember correctly, you, Messer Giangiorgio, wanted to start treating of the way to educate children with Messer Lascari. Then, as you know, being interrupted by another matter, you did not follow out the discussion and left us desirous to hear what you think about it."[47]

So it would appear that Lascaris took part in the gatherings in the Orti Oricellari.

If Lascaris had ties with the Rucellai gardens, did Machiavelli have any? Of this there is no shadow of doubt. Machiavelli set the *Arte della Guerra* in the Rucellai gardens;[48] and he was on terms of closest intimacy with the Rucellai circle. He dedicated three of his more important works, indeed *all* of his important political works except *Il Principe,* to men who customarily gathered in the Orti Oricellari. The *Vita di Castruccio Castracani* he dedicated to Luigi Alamanni and Zanobi Buondelmonti,[49] the *Arte della Guerra* to Lorenzo di Filippo Strozzi,[50] and the *Discorsi sopra la Prima Deca di Tito Livio* to Buondelmonti and Cosimo Rucellai himself.[51] Beyond the matter of its dedication, no unconsidered trifle after all, can the *Discorsi* themselves be connected any more closely to the Rucellai circle? One writer makes that connection close and explicit. He is Filippo de' Nerli, a historian of his native Florence and himself in his youth a member of that circle. He writes:

A certain school of high-minded young literati gathered quite often in the gardens of the Rucellai during the life of Cosimo Rucellai who died very young and who had given promise of great literary talent. Niccolò Machiavelli continually frequented their company, and I was on terms of closest friendship with Niccolò and with all of them, and conversed with them many times. They trained themselves by reading the teachings of history; and in connection with

[45] Nolhac, p. 267.

[46] Janus Lascaris, *De Romanorum Militia et Castrorum Metatione . . . ejusdem A. J. Lascaris Epigrammata et Graeca et Latina* (Basel, 1537).

[47] Antonio Brucioli, *Dialogi . . . della Morale Philosophia* (Venice, 1544), 18^{r}–18^{v}.

[48] Mazzoni and Casella, pp. 266b–268a.

[49] Mazzoni and Casella, p. 747.

[50] Proemio: Mazzoni and Casella, p. 265.

[51] Preface: Mazzoni and Casella, p. 55; Walker I, 201.

this and at their insistence Machiavelli composed his book of discourses on Titus Livy, and also the book in which he treats of and reasons about the armed force.[52]

And so we have found the last link we have been seeking—a possible link between Machiavelli and Lascaris. With it our second triangle among Polybius, Machiavelli, and Lascaris has got all its sides filled in. For the actuality of this second triangle the first triangle—Polybius, Seyssel, Lascaris—provides only a confirmatory substantiation. Or perhaps we might better say that the possibility of both triangles mutually enhances the probability of each. As to the specific character of the link between Machiavelli and Lascaris which runs through the Orti Oricellari, until and unless further evidence is forthcoming, that must be left to conjecture. Perhaps they met face to face amid the Rucellai group, and Lascaris, noting those curious traits which have led one present day-writer to call Machiavelli the Polybius of his day,[53] brought Polybius VI to the attention of the ex-secretary of the Florentine republic, even gave him a copy or a translation of that writing. Or perhaps the connection of the two men was indirect; perhaps a common friend heard Machiavelli discourse on Livy in the Rucellai gardens and knew of Lascaris' interest in that other eulogist of Rome, Polybius. Perhaps this common friend—several of the Rucellai group could qualify for the role—procured from Lascaris a translation of Polybius VI to lend or to give to Machiavelli. However the connection was formed, the probable persuasion that it did form constitutes what we have to offer in the way of a solution to the Mystery of the Missing Translation.

Could Machiavelli have met Lascaris at some other time and in some other place? No doubt he could have. Our information on the whereabouts of Lascaris from 1510 to the date of his entry into the papal service in 1513 is scanty.[54] It is not impossible that he was in Florence at one time or another during those years, and *if* he was in Florence he *could* have met Machiavelli, and *if* he met Machiavelli he *might* have made available to him a translation of Polybius VI. There is no evidence direct or indirect, however, that Lascaris did make the translation available to Machiavelli before 1513, or that he met him, or that he was in Florence between 1510 and 1513. Such

[52] Filippo de' Nerli, *Commentari de' Fatti Civili occorsi dentro la Città di Firenze* (Augusta, 1728), p. 138. Two other contemporary witnesses offer evidence of Machiavelli's close connection with the Rucellai group; Jacopo Nardi, *Istorie della Città di Firenze* (Lyons, 1582), p. 177, and Varchi, *Lezioni* (Florence, 1590), p. 647.

[53] Giuseppi Prezzolini, *Machiavelli Anticristo* (Rome, 1954), p. 138.

[54] Knös, pp. 134–139.

evidence as we have about the resumption of Lascaris's connection with Florence has to do in part with Leo X's project for a Florentine school of Hellenic studies, and therefore must postdate the employment of Lascaris by Leo in 1513. In part the evidence has to do with the period in the history of the Orti Oricellari during which Cosimo Rucellai presided over its activities. Now there appear to have been two phases in the history of the Rucellai gardens. A group of distinguished men, including Machiavelli's friend Francesco Vettori, met there in the first years of the sixteenth century. This gathering broke up when Bernardo Rucellai, the host at the Orti Oricellari, left Florence around 1506. Bernardo returned about six years later and died in 1514; but the old circle of friends that once met in his garden was scattered, and some were dead, and there is no reason to think that in the last years of his life he reestablished the outdoor salon in the Orti Oricellari.[55] In the next phase of the gardens' history, Cosimo Rucellai, Bernardo's grandson, is its presiding genius. It is during this phase that Lascaris seems to have put in his appearance. In Brucioli's dialogue, which most specifically brings Lascaris into the orbit of the gardens, Cosimo is host at the gathering. The most likely time for Cosimo to have gathered his own intimate circle about him in the Orti Oricellari is some time after he inherited the property from his grandfather Bernardo. Given the date of Bernardo's death, that would be somewhere around 1515.

If we provisionally accept the evidence that associates Lascaris with the gatherings in the Rucellai gardens after 1514, we find that it fits well with what we can discover about the time of Machiavelli's entrance into the Rucellai group. The earliest explicit evidence we have of any intimacy between Machiavelli and the Rucellaians is in a letter he wrote to Luigi Alamanni in December 1517.[56] Alamanni was, as we have seen, one of the young luminaries of the group that Cosimo had gathered in the Orti Oricellari.[57] In the letter to Alamanni for the first time in Machiavelli's correspondence other members of the Rucellai circle appear—Battista della Palla, Filippo de' Nerli, Zanobi Buondelmonti, and Cosimo Rucellai himself. The familiar tone that Machiavelli takes in the letter indicates that for some little while he had been on terms of intimate friendship with the men

[55] On the phases of the history of the Orti Oricellari, see F. Gilbert, "Bernardo Rucellai", pp. 110–118. I have not seen any evidence to show that between the time of his return to Florence and his death Bernardo revived the use of the gardens as a meeting place for a literary circle.

[56] Niccolò Machiavelli, *Lettere*, with preface by Giovanni Papini (Lanciano, 1915), letter 166 to Luigi Alamanni, 17 December 1517.

[57] Above, p. 89.

he speaks of. Unfortunately the exiguous remains of Machiavelli's correspondence for 1515–1516 give no clue whether his new associations had begun in those years.[58] In the late months of 1514 at any rate—the earliest likely date for the beginning of the second phase of the history of the Rucellai circle—Machiavelli seems to have been too fully immersed in an autumnal love affair in the country—doubly autumnal for him, since she was young and he growing old—to have become deeply involved with a circle of intellectual young men in town.[59]

So the earliest probable date for the contact of Machiavelli with Lascaris—and therefore of Machiavelli's access to a translation of Polybius VI through the most likely channel of such access—is 1515, and the event may have happened as much as two years later than that. If Machiavelli and Lascaris came together as late as 1515, and not before, it will help us explain a very puzzling omission from *The Prince*.

In December 1513, to his friend Vettori, Machiavelli wrote an account of how he passed the long hours of his exile in the Tuscan hills. After a day spent in trivialities he retired to his study. There, having changed from the muddy clothing of his country walks to courtly garments, he conversed with men of olden times and inquired into the reasons of their actions; and they revealed the springs of their doings to him. That he might hold his knowledge surely, he wrote down what he had learned through his questioning, and what he wrote became a little book, *The Prince*.[60] Now Machiavelli's communication with the great men of antiquity was carried on, not by a spiritualist evocation of their ectoplasmic presence, but by reading of their deeds and words in the books that historians had written about them. Among the historians who brought ancient heroes—and villains—into Machiavelli's study to discourse with him were Livy, of course, and Plutarch and Xenophon and Herodian and Justin. Among them also was Polybius; for of one of the examples in *The Prince* there is no ancient source except Polybius.[61] Now how powerfully the sixth book of Polybius fascinated Machiavelli is evident from the heavy drafts he made on it both in the *Discorsi* and in the

[58] *Lettere*, letters 159–163.

[59] Machiavelli wrote Vettori about his late-blooming passion (*Lettere*, letters 150, 159). The letters indicate that his affair with the young woman dulled Machiavelli's appetite for indulgence in the more rarefied delight of intellectual athletics. On this point see Federico Chabod, "Sulla Composizione de 'Il Principe' di Niccolò Machiavelli", *Archivum Romanicum* XI (1927), 348.

[60] *Lettere*, letter 138 to Francesco Vettori, 10 December 1513.

[61] See above, note 4.

Arte della Guerra.[62] In *The Prince* there are half-a-dozen places where observations drawn from Book VI would have been natural and apposite. Yet not a single reference, not a single observation, in *The Prince* has its model or its source in Polybius VI.[63] If when he wrote *The Prince* Machiavelli had Polybius handy it seems odd indeed that he made no use at all of that part of the work in which Polybius most clearly shows himself as Machiavelli's ancient *alter ego,* the part that Machiavelli himself was most fond of.[64] If the reconstruction that is the subject of this paper is correct, however, there is nothing to wonder at. In *The Prince* Machiavelli speaks of Louis XII as living,[65] and that prince died on the first day of 1515. He had finished *The Prince,* therefore, before the king died, probably several months before, possibly nearly a year before.[66] So if Machiavelli got his line of access to Polybius VI from Lascaris through the Orti Oricellari, he did not and could not have used Polybius VI when he wrote *The Prince,* because at that time the line of access was not yet open to him.

If our hypothesis enables us to make intelligible a minor peculiarity of *The Prince,* it is at a considerable cost, for that hypothesis deepens and darkens the important and already very dark mystery

[62] L. A. (sic) Burd, "Le Fonti Letterarie di Machiavelli nell' 'Arte della Guerra' ", *Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, Classe di Scienze Morali, Storiche, e Filologiche, Atti,* series 5, IV (1896), 187–261, for Machiavelli's use of Polybius in the *Arte della Guerra.* For his use of Polybius in the *Discorsi,* Walker, I, 61–63; II, 289–291.

[63] In his elaborately annotated edition of *Il Principe,* A. L. Burd suggests that Machiavelli may have used Polybius VI, 47, in Chapter 12 of *The Prince.* I offer translations in parallel columns of the passages in question.

Polybius:
In my opinion there are two fundamental things in every state by virtue of which its principle and constitution is either desirable or the reverse. I mean customs and laws. What is desirable in these makes men's private lives righteous and well-ordered, and the general character of the state gentle and just, while what is to be avoided has the opposite effect.

Machiavelli:
The principal foundation that all states, whether new or old or mixed, have are good laws and good arms. There cannot, however, be good laws where there are not good arms, and where there are good arms there will be good laws.

It hardly needs saying that there is no relation whatsoever between the thought of the two authors in the passages cited. Machiavelli's concern with the righteousness and good order of men's private lives and the gentleness and justice of the state is not conspicuous. "Good laws and good arms" are good simply insofar as they enable the prince to keep his grip on political power. In context "good" has no ethical implication at all.

[64] In the *Discorsi* there are about as many references to the fragment of Polybius VI as there are to the first five books of Polybius taken together (Walker, II, 290).

[65] *Il Principe,* Chapter 16; Mazzoni and Casella, p. 31b.

[66] The most elaborate attempt to determine more exactly the date at which Machiavelli finished working on *The Prince* is that of Chabod, pp. 330–383. The attempt is not wholly successful. For a criticism of it, see Felix Gilbert, "The Humanist Concept of the Prince and 'The Prince' of Machiavelli", *Journal of Modern History,* XI (1939), 181–183, and note 87.

of the composition of the *Discorsi.* Most scholars agree that Machiavelli was well started on the *Discorsi* by the time he went to work on *The Prince.* They base this inference on the first sentence of the second chapter of *The Prince:*

Io lascerò indrieto el ragionare delle republiche, perchè altra volta ne ragionai a lungo.[67]

I will avoid discussing republics, because elsewhere I have discussed them at length.

Since no other known work of Machiavelli's that could have been written as early as 1513 discusses republics, and since the *Discorsi* does discuss them, scholars assume that the *Discorsi* is that "elsewhere" in which Machiavelli, according to *The Prince,* had already discussed republics at length.[68] Up to the present the main obstacle to an unhesitating acceptance of this dating of the *Discorsi* is the references in that work to events that took place *after* the latest conceivable date for the completion of *The Prince.*[69] Ascribing the last two books of the *Discorsi* to a later time, making only Book I contemporary with or antecedent to *The Prince,*[70] does not enable us to surmount this obstacle, since unfortunately one of the unassimilable events appears very early, in fact in the very first chapter of Book I.[71] The only way left to cope with the references to these intractable events in the *Discorsi* within the bounds of what may be described as the orthodox theory of its composition is to regard them as emendations and additions. This is in fact what some scholars have done. And indeed the references may be emendations; but the trouble with the explanation is that emendations are rather like icebergs, only more so. Very peculiar emendations are the only kind that appear clearly and unmistakably on the surface of the printed edition of a book, the peculiar kind, indeed, that scholars believe they have descried in the *Discorsi*—in short, anachronisms. The number, the size, the location, and the significance of the possible invisible emendations cannot be known or even conjectured from the character and number of the visible ones. But if Machiavelli wrote the *Discorsi* in 1513 and did not get to know Polybius VI until 1515

[67] *Il Principe,* Chapter 2: Mazzoni and Casella, p. 5a.
[68] Prezzolini, p. 171; Walker, I, 40, 53.
[69] For the events subsequent to 1513 referred to in the *Discorsi,* see Walker, I, 40–45.
[70] Prezzolini, p. 171. There are difficulties in ascribing Books II and III of the *Discorsi* to the time when, or before which, Machiavelli wrote *The Prince,* since *Discorsi* II, 1 refers to *The Prince* as if it was a completed work (Mazzoni and Casella, p. 138b; Walker, I, 360).
[71] *Discorsi* I, 1: Mazzoni and Casella, p. 58b; Walker, I, 209.

or later, then one set of hitherto invisible emendations of the *Discorsi* is now visible, and these emendations are very considerable indeed. The worst of it is that most of Machiavelli's drafts on Polybius VI do not occur in Books II and III, which some writers concede may have been written after the completion of *The Prince*. On the contrary three-fourths of them appear in the first twenty-one chapters of Book I, that is, in about the first sixth of the *Discorsi*.[72] These drafts are not merely eruditely decorative embellishments to Machiavelli's thought in those early chapters; in many instances they are knit tight into the very bone and sinew of his argument.[73] Yet it is especially in Book I of the *Discorsi* that scholars have asked us to discern that discussion of republics which Machiavelli seems to describe as complete almost at the very beginning of *The Prince*.

In a brilliant piece of historical and textual detective work, Prof. Felix Gilbert has recently provided us with good grounds to believe that the problem of how Machiavelli put the *Discorsi* together is more complicated and difficult than any one had previously imagined.[74] But if our hypothesis to explain the link between Machiavelli and Polybius VI is acceptable, the problem of the *Discorsi* may be even more complicated than Prof. Gilbert has imagined. Our conclusion then is a melancholy one. Our solution to the Puzzle of Polybius VI—if it *is* a solution—only deepens the Dilemma of the *Discorsi*.[75]

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[72] Of twenty-one probable uses of Polybius VI in the *Discorsi* sixteen occur in the first twenty-one chapters. See Walker, II, 290. If one averages the thing out by the number of chapters, it comes to a seventh of the *Discorsi*, if by the number of pages, to a sixth.

[73] Father Walker is convinced that Machiavelli got the very idea of writing the first fifteen chapters of the *Discorsi* from the sixth book of Polybius (I, 62–63). If this is so it would *really* complicate matters.

[74] F. Gilbert, "Structure and Composition".

[75] Since this article went to the printer, its author has received confirmation from the Vatican Library that two fifteenth- or sixteenth-century manuscripts of Latin translations from Polybius in Reg. Lat. 1099 and Vat. Lat. 2968 are parts of the sixth book of the *History*. Certain indications lead him to believe that these MSS. will lend support to some of the conjectures in the article. It seems best to postpone publication of the relevant evidence until it has been possible to examine microfilms of the MSS.

Holbein's *Pictures of Death* and the Reformation at Lyons[1]

I

The *danse macabre* pleased the medieval sensibility. It was painted throughout western Europe in the fifteenth century, and the printing profession early took an interest in the theme. The most celebrated wall paintings of the dance of death in France were also the earliest—1424 at the Cimetière des Innocents in Paris. In 1485, woodcut replicas of these paintings with the verses from the cemetery printed underneath the pictures were brought out by the Parisian printer and priest[2] Guyot Marchant. Printers in Paris and elsewhere followed suit. In Lyons, Mathieu Huss printed a *Grant Danse Macabre* in February 1499 (o.s.), and fascination with the same cuts and verses extended there well into the sixteenth century. Claude Nourry brought out editions in 1501, 1519, and 1523; Pierre de Saint Lucie, the successor of Nourry and the husband of his widow, printed editions in 1537, 1548, and 1555.[3]

The popular dance of death posed a problem to those who were predominantly concerned with religious and spiritual values. Before the theme had received pictorial representation, Dominican and Franciscan mendicants had introduced a drama of the *danse macabre* into the church as illustration for their sermons. By so vivid a demonstration of the inevitability of death and the unpredictability of its arrival, the friars tried to heighten in their listeners a sense of the urgency of repentance and of the avoidance of sin.[4] But having escaped the confines of the church and the friar's spoken interpretation, the painted *danse macabre* could suggest ideas that lacked religious and even ethical content. The pictures *alone* have only one comment on death—it comes to high and low alike and can come any time. One might as well enjoy life while one can. Death need

[1] This research was done while the writer held the Margaret Lee Wiley Fellowship of the American Association of University Women.

[2] Pierre Champion, "Introduction," *La danse macabre* (Paris, 1925), p. 9.

[3] Leonard P. Kurtz, *The Dance of Death and the Macabre Spirit in European Literature* (New York, 1934), pp. 52, 59–63.

[4] Emile Mâle, *L'art religieux de la fin du moyen age en France* (Paris, 1908), pp. 391–2; James M. Clark, *The Dance of Death in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance* (Glasgow, 1950), pp. 94–5.

not be viewed as one of the crucial transitions of the Christian but as the horrible physical end of life's sinful joys.[5]

In the paintings of the *danse macabre* in the church of the Chaise-Dieu in Auvergne and on the walls of the Klingenthal convent in Basle, a special picture was added to blunt the secular edge of the dance—the fall in the former and the crucifixion in the latter.[6] Alas, there were no such pictures at the Innocents. For the literate, the verses under the paintings explained

> Creature raisonnable
> Qui desires vie eternelle
> Tu as cy doctrine notable
> Pour bien finir vie mortelle.[7]

The canon realizes the insignificance of earthly glory before death. Death menaces the bailiff, "je vous adjourne . . . pour rendre compte de vos faits, au grand juge".[8] Lest the verses not teach the lesson well enough, in the printed editions other edifying essays and verses might be added. In these the proper conduct of the last hours of a Christian's life and the pains and dangers of hell were frequent themes.[9] For example, most of the above-mentioned Lyons editions of the *Grant Danse Macabre* include the following poems: "Le débat du corps et de l'âme", then the "Complainte de l'âme damnée", the frightening picture of a dying sinner who meets a judging God and a host of devils; next the "Exhortation de bien vivre et bien mourir", one of the many French works inspired by the fifteenth-century piece, the *Ars Moriendi,* which depicted the devil's temptation of the Christian at the deathbed and detailed the Christian's resistance through the aid of Christ and the angels. These were rounded off by "La vie du mauvais antichrist", the fifteen signs of the end of the world, and a description of the last judgment.[10] The woodcuts accompanying such

[5] Mâle, pp. 412–3; *filles de joie* wandered among the graves at the Innocents. J. Huizinga feels that the *danse macabre* was essentially un-Christian: ". . . the macabre sentiment is self-seeking and earthly. It is hardly the absence of the departed dear ones that is deplored; it is fear of one's own death, and this seen only as the worst of evils" (*The Waning of the Middle Ages,* London, 1924, p. 134). Cf. Alberto Tenenti, *La vie et la mort à travers l'art du XV^e siècle* (Paris, 1952), pp. 11–15, 29–30, 38; Hellmut Rosenfeld, *Der mittelalterliche Totentanz: Entstehung, Entwicklung, Bedeutung* (Münster, 1954).

[6] Clark, p. 67.

[7] *La danse macabre* (Paris: Guyot Marchant, 1486). Facsimile edition (Paris, 1925), A ii^r.

[8] *Ibid.,* A vii^r, A vi^r.

[9] Tenenti, ch. II.

[10] Kurtz, pp. 52, 59–63; Tenenti, pp. 48–61, 98–120; Mâle, pp. 413–420; *La grant danse macabre des hommes et des femmes hystoriee et augmentee de beaulx dis en latin. Le debat du corps et de lame. La complainte de lame dampnee. Exortation de bien vivre et de bien mourir. La vie du maulvais antecrist. Les quinze signes. Le iugement* (Lyon: Claude Nourry, 1501), copy in the Pierpont Morgan Library.

essays and poems were often graphic enough to explain to those who had difficulty with the text why they must not sin or lose faith.

Irony and satire were also traditional in the *danse macabre*. That the anticlerical elements could be perceived by fifteenth-century men as consistent with Catholicism was in part due to the nature of the satire. It was predominantly social. The powerful and wealthy must also dance with that mocking, irreverent partner. The dead chide the living for their misdeeds—the bailiff for his injustices, the bourgeois for his overconcern with money.[11] Criticism of the clergy is directed against failure to live up to the spiritual requirements of the office and not against the office itself. For example, only at death does the canon begin to realize the meaninglessness of his many prebends.[12] The abbot must now leave the abbey which has made him big and fat, but "le plus gras est le premier pourry".[13] A few clerics are spared, such as the pope, "dieu en terre", who must die like all humans but who is still entitled to the place of honor at the dance as "le plus digne seigneur".[14] Though the verses may criticize in the *Danse Macabre,* the pictures do not treat the living clerics without dignity. The fat abbot of the verse is not obese in the woodcut.

The acceptability of this type of anticlerical criticism to the fifteenth-century church is illustrated by the *danse macabre* at the Klingenthal convent in Basle. Painted around 1440, these pictures and verses are more satirical than those at the Innocents and in the French woodcuts. Witness the pope's statement:

> Heilig war ich auf Erd genannt,
> Ohn Gott der höchst führt ich mein Stand
> Der Ablass that mir gar wohl lohnen
> Nun will der Tod mein nicht verchonen.[15]

And yet this was considered appropriate fare for the nuns, the only ones to view the pictures until 1480![16]

[11] *La danse macabre,* A vi^{r}, A vi^{v}.
[12] *Ibid.,* A vii^{r}.
[13] *Ibid.,* A vi^{r}.
[14] *Ibid.,* A iii^{r}.
[15] *La danse des morts, comme elle est depeinte dans la louable et celebre ville de Basle . . . dessinée et gravée sur l'original de feu Mr Matthieu Merian* (Basle, 1744), 5. This verse actually comes from the dance of death in the Dominican churchyard in Basle. Painted around 1480, it is a copy of the Klingenthal series, with verses almost identical except in dialect (Clark, 68). Clark mentions nothing about subsequent modification of the verses. He feels that the difference in the dialect of the two series attests to the temporal lag between them *within* the fifteenth century. On the other hand, Burckhardt-Biedermann states that the verses were modified in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (*Über die Basler Totentänze,* Basle, 1881, 75, as cited in Conrad André Beerli, *Le peintre poète Nicolas Manuel et l'évolution sociale de son temps,* Geneva, 1953, 121, n. 4). Nevertheless, Beerli does believe that an unflattering reference to papal indulgences dates from the fifteenth century (p. 121, n. 5).
[16] Clark, p. 60.

Percutiam paſtorem,& diſpergentur oues.

XXVI MAR. XIIII

BISHOP
Les Simulachres (1538)
(Pierpont Morgan Library)

Le paſteur auſſi frapperay
Mitres & croſſes renuerſées.
Et lors quand ie l'attrapperay,
Seront ſes brebis diſperſées.

D ij

Ipſe morietur. Quia nõ habuit diſciplinam,& in multitudine ſtultitiæ ſuæ decipietur.

PROVER. V

ABBOT
Les Simulachres (1538)
(Pierpont Morgan Library)

Il mourra,Car il n'a receu
En ſoy aulcune diſcipline,
Et au nombre ſera deceu
De folie qui le domine.

D iij

The pictures of death by Hans Holbein the Younger were completed in Basle by 1526. What relation do they bear to the religious and satirical traditions of the *danse macabre?*

As in earlier representations, the pictures in which Death accosts the living imply only death's inevitability and unexpectedness. Holbein designed, however, introductory cuts—the creation, Adam and Eve taking the apple in Paradise, the expulsion from Eden, and Adam tilling the soil while Eve nurses a baby—so that death might appear a consequence of sin,[17] and also toward the end of the series a Last Judgment to remind the reader of the inadequacy of "eat, drink, and be merry".[18] It is not unexpected that in a time of religious change the desire to place such a theme in a pictorial Christian framework should be stronger than in the fifteenth century. A dance of death by Nicolas Manuel, painted on the eve of the Reformation in the Dominican monastery of Berne, exemplifies this same need, for it opens with the fall, Moses' reception of the ten commandments, and the crucifixion.[19]

The satire in Holbein's pictures is striking. His treatment of the theme is itself more conducive to satire than earlier ones in which the partners simply appear together against a rather irrelevant background. Holbein's pictures are independent dramas in which Death comes upon his victim in the midst of the latter's own surroundings and activities.[20] For example, the duke, the judge, the lawyer, and the town councillor are all approached by Death as they favor the suits of rich clients and ignore those of the poor. The King of France, drawn as Francis I, is taken as he banquets.[21]

Evidently censure was not reserved for the ecclesiastical figures. What we must ascertain is whether the anti-clerical satire in Holbein's pictures differs markedly in substance or degree from that in the pictures *and* verses of prior series.

Death awaits the pope (possibly resembling Leo X) as he crowns

[17] *Les Simulachres et Historiees Faces de la Mort, autant elegamment pourtraictes, que artificiellement imaginées,* A Lyon: Soubz l'escu de Cologne. Excudebant Lugduni Melchior et Gaspar Trechsel Fratres, 1538, B iv^{v}, C i^{r}, C i^{v}, C ii^{v} (Pierpont Morgan Library). These four cuts were also used in the *Old Testament Pictures* by Holbein (*Historiarum Veteris Instrumenti Icones,* Lugduni: Sub Scuto Coloniensi; Excudebant Lugduni Melchior et Gaspar Trechsel fratres, 1538, A ii^{r}, A ii^{v}, A iii^{r}, A iii^{v}, copy in the Pierpont Morgan Library).

[18] *Les Simulachres,* G iv^{r}.

[19] Beerli, figs. XIII–XX, and pp. 107–39.

[20] Holbein had, of course, precursors in this development. For example, a certain amount of drama is found in the death illustrations for the manuscript *Mors de la pomme,* in those for the printed *Heures* edited by Simon Vostre in Paris, 1512, and in Nicolas Manuel's wall paintings in Berne, produced a few years before Holbein's work. Holbein must have been influenced by at least one of these (Mâle, pp. 410–1; Clark, p. 75).

[21] *Les Simulachres,* D ii^{v}, E i^{r}, E i^{v}, E ii^{r}, C iii^{v}.

Eſt via quæ videtur homini iuſta: nouiſsima autem eius deducunt hominem ad mortẽ.

PROVER. IIII.

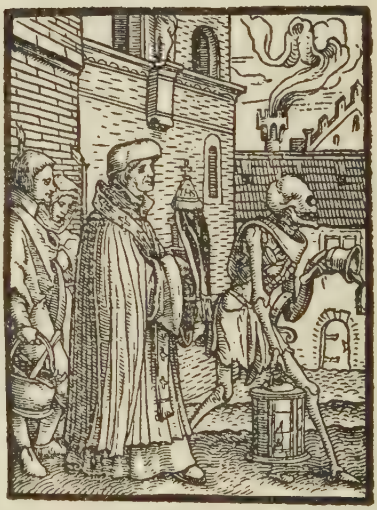
NUN
Imagines mortis (1547)
(Metropolitan Museum of Art)

Apoſtrophe ad Mortem.

Quid ſacram terres Mors inuidioſa puellã?
Gloria de victa virgine parua venit.
I procul, & ſenio confectis retia ponas:
Hanc ſine delicijs incubuiſſe ſuis.
Conueniunt hilari luſuſq; iociq; iuuentæ,
Sumptaq; furtiuo gaudia læta toro.

Sum quidem & ego mortalis homo.

SAP. VII.



PARISH PRIEST
Imagines mortis (1547)
(Metropolitan Museum of Art)

Ecce Sacramentum cæleſtia munera porto,
Vnde ferat certam iam morituru opem.
Sũ quoq; mortalis, ſimili quia ſorte creatus,
Tẽpora cùm venient, cogar, vt ille, mori.

the emperor, who is kissing his foot. Two devils appear, one holding a papal seal, the other hovering near the pope as if to receive his soul.[22] This certainly goes beyond the respectful treatment of the pope at the Innocents and in the printed *Danse Macabre,* and in its generality it surpasses the condemnation of papal indulgences in the Basle verses. The cardinal, who in the *Danse Macabre* was merely regretting his red hat, is here giving out a papal indulgence with one hand and receiving money with the other.[23] Preoccupation with earthly glory was the canon's weakness in the *Danse Macabre,* and so it is here. Even when he goes to church to pray, the canon cannot leave behind him his worldly retinue—his jester, pages, and falconer.[24]

Holbein relents in his depiction of three of the clerics. Inspired by Mark xxvii. 14, "I will smite the shepherd, and the sheep will be scattered", the picture of the bishop shows him meeting death calmly and without fear, while peasants and a monk run off dismayed at their loss. The parish priest is taken as he goes about his spiritual duties; he is on his way to give extreme unction. Similarly in the picture of the preacher, there is irony without criticism. Most of his audience is attentive. Death teasingly holds a jawbone, but there is nothing in the print to imply wrongdoing on the part of the preacher.[25] Others had previously criticized in some cases where Holbein was sparing. It was the parish priest in the *Danse Macabre* who "ate the living and the dead", and the archbishop was reluctant to leave his "chambre painte".[26] In the dance of death of Nicolas Manuel, the bishop was approached by a female cadaver who irreverently asked him to dance.[27]

The regular clergy is severely treated by Holbein. The corpulent abbot of the verses of the *Danse Macabre* is here pictured, very fat and very distressed that he must die. Death yanks an unwilling abbess.[28] In the *Danse Macabre,* the monk had "commis maint vice" for which he had not made sufficient penitence; but also described there was a simple *Chartreux* who had lived in abstinence and did not fear death's judgments.[29] Holbein does not show a holy mendicant, but only a monk clutching his precious little money bag as he

[22] *Ibid.,* C iii^{r}.
[23] *La danse macabre,* A iii^{v}; *Les Simulachres,* C iv^{v}.
[24] *Les Simulachres,* D iv^{v}.
[25] *Ibid.,* D ii^{r}, E iii^{r}, E ii^{v}.
[26] *La danse macabre,* B ii^{r}, A v^{r}.
[27] *Beerli, op. cit.,* fig. xiv and p. 120.
[28] *Les Simulachres,* D iii^{r}, D iii^{v}.
[29] *La danse macabre,* A viii^{v}, A viii^{r}.

desperately tries to escape from Death. A female Death awaits the nun in her cell as she neglects her rosary for her lover's serenade.[30]

When we compare Holbein's dramatic pictures with the total effect produced by earlier pictures *and* verses, we discover that he has not departed too radically from the satirical tradition. In some instances, such as the pope, he has been more harsh than his predecessors; in others, such as the parish priest, less so. Irrespective of Holbein's motives when he made his designs and irrespective of present-day opinions about whether the satire in the pictures is really Protestant in effect or not, the interesting fact is that, within only a few years in the sixteenth century, these pictures were placed, and thought to fit with equal ease, in a framework of Catholic writings and interpretation and in one of Protestant writings and interpretation.

II

The history of the Catholic edition of these woodcuts begins in 1526, when Hans Holbein finished the designs and, before leaving for England, turned them over to Hans Lützelburger, an expert engraver of Basle. Lützelburger had died insolvent by June 1526. Melchior Trechsel, printer of Lyons, claimed that he had advanced funds to the deceased for the cutting of certain blocks and that he had not as yet received them. Arrangements were made in Basle for the eventual transfer of all the blocks, finished or unfinished, to Trechsel.[31]

Melchior and Gaspard Trechsel were the sons of a German printer from Mainz, Jean Trechsel, who had moved to Lyons with other German printers around 1487 and been among the first to establish a German religious *confrérie* in the Dominican church of Notre Dame de Confort. The celebrated printer Josse Bade served as corrector for Jean Trechsel and became his son-in-law before moving to Paris. Jean Trechsel died around 1499, and his widow married another German, Jean Schwab *dit* Clein, who directed the business till his own death in 1529.[32] No indication of the important religious changes through which he lived is found in the list of books printed by Jean Clein. The Renaissance is represented by only a few, such as

[30] *Les Simulachres,* E iii^{v}, E iv^{r}.

[31] Edouard His, "Hans Lützelburger, le graveur des Simulacres de la Mort, d'Holbein", *Gazette des beaux-arts,* XXIX (1870–71), 484–5.

[32] *Bibliographie lyonnaise. Recherches sur les imprimeurs, libraires, relieurs, et fondeurs de lettres de Lyon au XVIe siècle,* ed. H. and J. Baudrier (Lyons, 1895–1921), XII, 230–3.

Valla's work on the Latin language and Erasmus' *Colloquies*. Most of his productions are conventional religious works in Latin.[33]

Melchior and Gaspard Trechsel became head of the atelier in 1530. Although they never achieved great wealth or the status necessary to enter into Lyons' municipal government—a position attained by few Lyonnais and even fewer of foreign origin—their house became known for the quality of its productions. Instead of the works of the scholastic Gabriel Biel, which their stepfather had printed, the Trechsel brothers brought out in the 1530s beautiful Latin editions of Cicero, Horace, Sallust, Ovid, Xenophon, Livy.[34]

What was the attitude of the Trechsel brothers toward the Reformation? There is no indication that their stepfather would have introduced them to the new ideas. They did have contact with actual heretics or their sympathizers. Melchior must have known what was going on around him in Basle in 1526. Jean Frellon, *libraire* of Lyons, was already working with the reformers when he sold some of the Trechsel editions.[35] There is even one "dangerous" author—Philip Melanchthon—among the many whose works they printed, although the books were not religious ones—the *Dialectics* and the *Elements of Rhetoric* (1534).[36] Moreover, Michel Servetus, alias Villanovanus, became an editor and corrector for their firm in 1535. Put in contact with them by their brother-in-law Josse Bade, Servetus *may* have confided in them his real name and his reason for his living incognito in France.[37]

Yet despite these contacts there is no real evidence from the activities of the Trechsel brothers that they left the Catholic Church or that they did anything more than occasionally give a tolerant ear to the new ideas. They never intentionally printed any heretical ideas and generally avoided works on the religious controversy.[38] Villano-

[33] *Ibid.*, pp. 268–306.

[34] *Ibid.*, pp. 239, 241, 247.

[35] *Infra*, pp. 119–120.

[36] *Bibliographie lyonnaise*, XII, 242. These were later included with many other works by Melanchthon which were condemned by the theological faculty at the University of Paris ("Catalogus Librorum qui hactenus a Facultate Theologiae Parisiensi diligenter examinati, censuraque digni visi sunt, ob causes in calce superioris epistolae fusius declaratas, ab anno Domini 1544 usque ad annum 1551", *Collectio Judiciorum de novibus erroribus*, ed. Charles du Plessis d'Argentré, Paris, 1728, 171).

[37] Julien Baudrier, "Michel Servet, ses relations avec les libraires et les imprimeurs lyonnais", *Mélanges offerts à M. Emile Picot* (Paris, 1913), I, 42–3; Roland H. Bainton, *Hunted Heretic. The Life and Death of Michael Servetus. 1511–1553* (Boston, 1953), 84. There is no indication at all, however, that Servetus had anything to do with the Trechsel edition of Holbein's *Pictures of Death*. He was not in Lyons in 1537 or in 1538, the year of publication. For his activities in those years, see Bainton, pp. 218–19.

[38] An apparent exception is listed in *Bibliographie lyonnaise*, XII, 248, as coming from the presses of Gaspard and Melchior Trechsel in 1538: *La forme des Prieres Ecclesiastiques: avec*

vanus was a good editor and corrector, and so his private religious aberrations could be overlooked.[39] Jean Frellon was a *libraire* with contacts in Paris, Switzerland, and Germany, and if his religion did not interfere with his ability to sell, the Trechsels would print editions for him. Melchior and, in 1549, Gaspard ceased printing entirely in order to become *facteurs* for the printer Guillaume Rouillé in *Spain*[40]—hardly the refuge for secret Protestants!

What then was the attitude of the Trechsel brothers toward the Holbein pictures about death that they were to publish? The impression has frequently been given in discussion of this topic that the Trechsels themselves believed that Holbein's pictures were filled with dangerous political and Protestant satire; that they wanted to print them anyway; that the long delay between the engraver Lützelburger's death (1526) and the publication of the pictures (1538), the obtaining of one Catholic cleric to dedicate the work to another Catholic cleric, and the failure of Holbein's name to appear anywhere in the edition were all efforts by the Trechsels to provide a cautious "cover-up" for a work whose fundamental effect they felt would be anti-Catholic.[41] Now, the Trechsels were not naive and

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la maniere d'administrer les Sacremens, et celebrer le Mariage, et la visitation des Malades. This work was by Calvin and was the liturgy of the Genevan church (*Calvini opera omnia,* Brunswick, 1866, vi, 168–92). Actually, the work was not printed by the Trechsel brothers. Checking the source of the *Bibliographie lyonnaise* (Catalog 100 von Ludwig Rosenthal, Munich, 1897, no. 623), one discovers that the work there described lists neither printer, place, nor date. It was merely the editor's *guess,* based on similar decorative borders, that the brothers had printed it in 1538. In the first place, authorities on Calvin agree that this liturgy was not written until after Calvin's return from Strassburg and was first published in 1542 (*Calvini opera omnia,* vi, xiv–xviii; E. Doumergue, *Jean Calvin,* Lausanne, 1902, ii, 498; bibliography of Protestant liturgy in William D. Maxwell, *John Knox's Genevan Service Book,* Edinburgh, 1931, p. 70). Secondly, the description of this work in Rosenthal's catalog, including all peculiarities of title, size, number of pages, and type of pagination, is identical with the description of a 1547 edition given by the editors of Calvin's works (*Calvini opera omnia,* vi, xvi). If indeed there is a similarity between the border of the Trechsels' printing mark and the border around the title of this edition of Calvin's work, it probably means that the design passed into other hands after the brothers broke up their atelier in Lyons in 1540. The *Bibliographie lyonnaise* does not mention that Gaspard Trechsel used this mark after 1540 (xii, 256–63).

[39] Although the Trechsels could not have predicted it, a work edited by Servetus and printed by Gaspard Trechsel for the *libraire* Hugues de la Porte was subsequently condemned by the theology faculty of the University of Louvain—the Santes Pagnini Bible (Lyons, 1542) (*Mandament der Keyserlijcker Maiesteit vuytghegeuen int laer xlvi. Met Dintitulatie ende declaratie vanden gereprobeerde boecken gheschiet bijden Doctoren inde Faculteyt van Theologie in Duniuersiteyt van Loeuuen,* Louvain, 1546, d ii[r]). For a full discussion of Servetus' work on this Bible, see Bainton, ch. v.

[40] *Bibliographie lyonnaise,* xii, 250.

[41] Alfred Woltmann, *Holbein and His Time,* tr. F. E. Bunnett (London, 1872), p. 272; F. Lippmann, "Introduction", *The Dance of Death by Hans Holbein* (London, 1886), pp. 3–4; James M. Clark, "Introduction", *The Dance of Death by Hans Holbein* (London, 1947), pp. 23–4; "Introduction", *Danse Macabre* by Hans Holbein the Younger (New York, 1935), pp. 46–7.

undoubtedly they were prudent in preparing their edition; but I will show that this interpretation of their behavior is much exaggerated.

As early as 1505, their stepfather Jean Clein had established contacts in Basle, and it was probably through these that young Melchior Trechsel met Holbein's engraver.[42] Melchior's interest in the dance of death theme may also have been stimulated by his stepfather, for in 1513 Clein had had Guillaume Leroy of Lyons design borders on this subject for one of his books.[43] In any case, Melchior Trechsel bought the woodcuts of Holbein's designs for the dance of death because they were the splendid work of a fine artist and would make a handsome book some day. He must have expected to find satire in the death pictures, since satire was traditional in the dance of death. If the Trechsels themselves had perceived the satire in Holbein's pictures as severely anti-Catholic, they would almost certainly not have printed them.

As for the delay in publication, we can surely find explanations other than prudence. If we assume that Melchior's transaction was a project of the brothers, then clearly they could not put it into effect until they were in charge of the business, in 1530. The blocks for the death pictures apparently did not arrive in Lyons until after that time.[44] It seems dubious that the Trechsels spent the years before 1538 trying to muster the courage to print a work they thought might be dangerous. The events of those years—such as the inquisition of the Genevan draper Baudichon de la Maisonneuve at Lyons in 1534, the burnings at Paris following the placard affair, the seizure of Alexandre Canus, a Protestant preacher, in Lyons, and his burning in Paris in 1534—would hardly mitigate fears of retribution. Why then the delay after 1530? It is possible, as some have suggested, that it took time for the Trechsels to find an engraver competent enough to finish what Lützelburger had left undone.[45] It is also possible that the Trechsels were too busy with other orders, with their Latin editions of the classics, etc., to get around to publishing the woodcuts; 1538 is the first year in which they printed anything in French.[46]

The choice of the cleric Jean de Vauzelles to write the dedication

[42] *Bibliographie lyonnaise,* XII, 267. One authority, P. Ganz, believes that Holbein was in Lyons in the spring of 1524 (*Handzeichnungen H. Holbeins des jüngern,* Basle, 1943, p. 16). If so, could the Trechsel brothers have met him then?

[43] *Bibliographie lyonnaise,* XII, 287–8.

[44] Proof editions appeared in Basle up to 1530. Edouard His has speculated that they came from the press of Johannes Froben, also a creditor of Lützelburger (*op. cit.* note 31, above, p. 487 and n. 2).

[45] Lippmann, p. 4.

[46] *Bibliographie lyonnaise,* XII, 233–48.

and the failure to mention Holbein as the designer of the cuts may in fact have been dictated in part by caution. The printers had need to be careful. The disrespectful treatment of Francis I[47] and the satire on the pope, though not conceived as heretical, might have been expected to give offense to some; and Holbein was at that time residing at the court of the Protestant king of England.[48]

It should be remembered, however, that Vauzelles was among the leading literary figures in Lyons and that the Trechsel brothers were publishing some of his translations.[49] Caution or no caution, they might have found him an appropriate choice. Furthermore, Vauzelles' remark in the dedication about the death of the engraver may not have been solely an attempt to divert attention from Holbein's role in the pictures, for it also provided Vauzelles with the occasion for a literary comment about how Death so feared the power of this man that he took him away.[50] The Trechsels themselves were not so anxious about Holbein's name as to exclude it from the second edition of his *Historiarum Veteris Testamenti Icones* (1539).[51]

In any case, the edition printed in 1538 appeared with forty-one woodcuts with the title *Les Simulachres et Historiees Faces de la Mort, autant elegamment pourtraictes, que artificiellement imaginées.* The work was sold "A Lyon, soubz l'escu de Cologne". As any citizen in Lyons at that time would know, this was the ensign of the brothers Frellon, François and Jean, *libraires* who had set themselves up a few years before on the street of the printers and booksellers, the Rue Mercière.[52] Since it is highly unlikely, as will be demonstrated more fully below, that the Frellon brothers had anything to do with this edition except for its distribution and sale, they will not be considered until later.[53]

Above each woodcut in the edition was a quotation in Latin from

[47] Francis I was taken in the midst of frivolity, while the emperor, drawn as Maximilian, was being awaited by Death as he rebuked a noble who has ignored a poor man's plea (*Les Simulachres,* C iii^{v}). Basle, of which Holbein was a citizen, was allied with the Emperor Charles and was worried about the activities of Francis I (Clark, "Notes", *The Dance of Death by Hans Holbein,* p. 105).

[48] Woltmann, p. 272; Lippmann, pp. 3–4.

[49] *Bibliographie lyonnaise,* XII, 244.

[50] *Les Simulachres,* A iii^{v}.

[51] *Historiarum Veteris Testamenti Icones ad vivum expressae,* Lugduni: sub scuto Coloniensi, Melchior et Gaspar Trechsel fratres excudebant, 1539, A ii^{r}–A ii^{v} (Houghton Library, Harvard University).

[52] *Bibliographie lyonnaise,* V, 157.

[53] The fact that only the ensign and not the names of the Frellon brothers appeared on this edition was not due to fear about the contents of the work. Their names were also left off an innocent edition of Terence's *Comedies* in 1537. In 1538, their names do appear as the publishers of the Protestant *Precationes Biblicae* (*ibid.,* pp. 174, 177).

the Bible; below each was a French quatrain. The latter were composed by Gilles Corrozet,[54] an *imprimeur* and *libraire* of Paris. He was also a literary figure, writing poetry and preparing translations and compilations. There is no indication that he was ever a Protestant, and he had a Catholic burial in 1568 at the cloister of the Carmes in the Place Maubert at Paris.[55] At the time he composed the quatrains, Corrozet was troubled by the worldliness and disregard of religion of those around him. In an introductory poem in the 1539 edition of Holbein's *Historiarum Veteris Testamenti Icones,* for which Corrozet also did the French quatrains, he urges the reader to take from his walls pictures of Venus and Helen and replace them with these Bible pictures, which engender love of God and move us to avoid vice.[56] Again in his "Blason contre les Blasonneurs des membres", written not long after, he expresses his horror at the practice, so popular among his fellow poets, of celebrating the female body in verse—"C'est une erreur et une ydolatrie". Instead, referring to a *blason* by Jean de Vauzelles, he tells the reader to follow him who celebrates death.[57]

Memento mori. The mendicants who preached their dance of death sermons a few centuries earlier had essentially the same goal as Corrozet when he wrote the verses for Holbein's death pictures. Under the "Escutcheon of Death", the last woodcut, Corrozet writes,

[54] Henry Green, "Introduction and Notes", *Les Simulachres et Historiees Faces de la Mort: commonly called 'The Dance of Death'* (Holbein Society Facsimile Reprints, 1867, 1), pp. xxiv–xxv. It is nowhere stated in the edition that Corrozet wrote the quatrains. V. L. Saulnier attributes them to Jean de Vauzelles (*Maurice Scève (ca. 1500–1560)*, Paris, 1948, II, 24). He does not give his reasons for this attribution. The arguments for Corrozet's authorship are quite strong. He was the stated author of similar quatrains in the 1539 edition of Holbein's *Historiarum Veteris Testamenti Icones* (A iii^{r}–A iii^{v}). His device, "Plus que moins", appears in a poem at the end of that work. The simplicity of the quatrains in the *Pictures of Death* is unlike the pedantic and longwinded style of the poetry of Jean de Vauzelles. See *Blasons, poésies anciennes,* ed. D. M. Méon (Paris, 1807), pp. 119–23; Saulnier, I, 79, 361, II, 41. On the other hand, emblematic poetry was the specialty of Corrozet. Saulnier calls him "le modèle du poète 'emblématique' " (II, 42).

[55] On Corrozet: Paulin Paris, "Préface", *Les blasons domestiques par Gilles Corrozet libraire de Paris* (Paris, 1865), pp. xi–xiii; Paul Lacroix, *Recherches bibliographiques sur des livres rares et curieux* (Paris, 1880), pp. 60 ff.; Ch. Oulmont, "Preface", *Hecatomgraphie de Gilles Corrozet libraire parisien* (Paris, 1905), pp. vii–xxi; Ferdinand Gohin, "Introduction", *Le compte du rossignol par Gilles Corrozet* (Paris, 1924). Lacroix thinks that Corrozet may have been attached "secrètement aux idées nouvelles de la Réforme". He bases his conjecture on the inscription on Corrozet's emblem—"In corde prudentis requiescit sapientia"—and on Corrozet's publication of "un certain nombre de livrets en prose et en vers, qui ont le caractère calvinique. Ce sont des instructions morales tirées de l'Ecriture sainte et surtout de l'Evangile" (pp. 64–5). Neither Paris, Oulmont, nor Gohin supports this conjecture. Oulmont finds a note of mystical Platonism in his *Conte du rossignol* (xv). Lacroix' arguments would more appropriately relate Corrozet to those Erasmians and French intellectuals who wanted reform within the church.

[56] *Historiarum Veteris Testamenti Icones,* A iii^{r}–A iii^{v}.

[57] Reprinted in *Blasons, poésies anciennes,* pp. 98–100.

Si tu veulx vivre sans peché
Voy ceste imaige a tous propos . . .[58]

and under the Last Judgment he reminds his readers,

Devant le trone du grand juge
Chascun de soy compte rendra . . .[59]

What expression did the Catholic Corrozet give, during those years of religious controversy, to the anti-clerical satire in the pictures? Generally, Corrozet relates his verses to the Bible quotations above the pictures, the quotations having perhaps been chosen by him alone or in conjunction with Vauzelles. In two instances, Corrozet has underplayed the satire implicit in the picture: the pope and the canon. The devils in the first scene are ignored and Death makes the usual comment to a powerful person: "Qui te cuydes immortel estre, par Mort seras tost depesché".[60] The canon's worldly retinue which accompanies him even to church in the picture is not mentioned by Death, who merely tells him, while he goes to say his hours, his own hour has come.[61] It may be relevant to Corrozet's treatment of the canon that the canon-counts of the Cathedral of Saint Jean in Lyons were very powerful men and also the immediate superiors of Jean de Vauzelles, who held a lesser office in their chapter.

In one instance Corrozet's verse is sharper than the picture. The preacher, who in Holbein's picture does not appear to be doing anything wrong, is in the verse accused:

Mal pour vous qui ainsi osez
Le mal pour le bien nous blasmer
Et le bien pour mal exposez
Mettant avec le doulx l'amer.[62]

This criticism is not typical of the fifteenth-century dances of death, where the preacher might be given a special prominence or praise for his sermons about death.[63] By Corrozet's time, the pulpit had been used all too frequently for the expression of heretical ideas.

With the other clerics, Corrozet maintains approximately the same tone set by Holbein. The bishop and the priest, whom the de-

[58] *Les Simulachres,* G iv^{v}.
[59] *Ibid.,* G iv^{r}.
[60] *Ibid.,* C iii^{r}.
[61] *Ibid.,* D iv^{v}.
[62] *Ibid.,* E ii^{v}.
[63] *La danse macabre,* A ii^{r}; Clark, *The Dance of Death in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance,* pp. 94–5. The preacher in the dance of death of Nicolas Manuel is also treated with dignity (Beerli, fig. xx and p. 137).

signer has spared, the poet also spares.[64] Holbein's cardinal receiving money for an indulgence is upbraided by Corrozet:

> Mal pour vous qui justifiez
> L'inhumain, et plain de malice,
> Et par dons le sanctifiez
> Ostant au reste sa justice.[65]

The abbess is reproached for her reluctance to die, and of Holbein's distraught, fat abbot Corrozet says, "il n'a receu en soy aulcune discipline", and speaks of the "folie qui le domine".[66] The monk with his money bag is accused of having no remorse, of regretting only that he had been a mendicant. The nun with her lover is told that humans may think the path she has taken is good, but in the end death assembles all sinners.[67]

We have to think but an instant of the characteristic violence of tone and language in sixteenth-century religious polemic to realize that Corrozet is candid but moderate in his criticism of the clergy. He should be viewed as a Catholic who wanted a reform in the hearts and acts of Christians—both ecclesiastical and lay, for the latter are also censured in his verses. His perception of abuses, even in the ticklish area of indulgences, did not involve rejection of the church.

The dedication and essays in *Les Simulachres et Historiees Faces de la Mort* were written by Jean de Vauzelles. Descendants of a burgher family prominent in the communal activities in Lyons were the three brothers de Vauzelles[68]—Georges, a soldier, Mathieu, a noted jurist and member of the town consulate, and Jean, a cleric. Born in the late fifteenth century, Jean became *curé* of Saint-Romain and Tassin outside of Lyons and in 1521 was appointed one of the seven *chevaliers* of the cathedral chapter of Saint Jean of Lyons. This was the highest prebend to which the small group of recently ennobled bourgeois of Lyons could aspire for its sons, for the thirty-two canon-counts of that rich and powerful chapter had to have several generations of nobility behind them. The *chevaliers,* always priests and graduates in civil or canon law, were the judges in the ecclesiasti-

[64] *Les Simulachres,* D ii^{r}, E iii^{r}.
[65] *Ibid.,* C iv^{v}.
[66] *Ibid.,* D iii^{r}, D iii^{v}.
[67] *Ibid.,* E iii^{v}, E iv^{r}.
[68] Their father Étienne was active in 1477 in the commune's efforts to restrict the secular pretensions of the archbishop and chapter of Lyons. On the life of Jean de Vauzelles, see Ludovic de Vauzelles, "Notice sur Jean de Vauzelles", *Revue du Lyonnais,* 3d ser., XIII (1872), 52–73; and the chapter on him by Émile Picot in *Les français italianisants au XVI^{e} siècle* (Paris, 1906), I, 118 ff.

cal and temporal courts of the church. Vauzelles' career was capped by his installation toward 1527 as *prieur commendataire* of Montrottier near Lyons. Despite his position in the church, Vauzelles never surrendered the communal loyalties of his family. In 1531 a municipal organization, the Aumône Générale, was formed for the consolidation of all charitable activity. The clergy resented this intrusion into its sphere, but Vauzelles immediately donated a large annual rent to the Aumône Générale and wrote a book in its support.[69]

With such families as the Bellièvre, the Scève, and the Du Choul, Mathieu and Jean de Vauzelles formed the native intelligentsia of Lyons. By 1538, Jean had published, other than the above-mentioned work, only one major piece—*Histoire évangélique des quatres évangélistes* (Lyons, 1526), dedicated to Marguerite d'Angoulême, his translation into French of the Latin translation of Ammonius made by Othmar Nachtigall *dit* Luscinius.[70] In 1539 the Trechsel brothers published his French translations of two of Aretino's religious works, with dedications to Marguerite de Navarre and her daughter Jeanne.[71] Vauzelles considered Aretino, with whom he was in correspondence, a superb writer; he surely found no immorality in those works which he chose to translate.[72] These literary activities were rewarded by royal patronage: he was a *maître des requêtes* for Marguerite, an *aumônier* for Francis I, and was honored by Henri II and Catherine de Medici during their visit to Lyons.[73]

Vauzelles was also known in the circles of French and Latin poets living in Lyons during the 1530s—including such men as Jean Voulté, Nicolas Bourbon, Étienne Dolet, and Maurice Scève.[74] Vauzelles made two contributions to the *blason* poetry in vogue at that time. In 1536 his "Les Cheveux" was printed.[75] In 1539 or soon after, he composed "Blason de la Mort", a poem about death in which his aim was to stop those who by their *blasons* had tried to canonize the body.[76] Since this poem is very similar to one of his essays in the 1538 edition of Holbein's *Pictures of Death*,[77] it is clear that his reaction

[69] *Police subsidaire a celle quasi infinie multitude des pouvres survenus à Lyon*, Lyons: Claude Nourry *dit* le Prince, circa 1531 (*Bibliographie lyonnaise*, XII, 94–6).

[70] *Bibliographie lyonnaise*, XII, 416.

[71] *La passion de Jesu Christ* and *Trois Livres de l'Humanité de Jesu Christ*. Two other translations were published in 1540 and 1542 (*Bibliographie lyonnaise*, XII, 249; L. de Vauzelles, p. 71).

[72] L. de Vauzelles, pp. 60, 62, and n. 25.

[73] *Ibid.*, pp. 56, 60–1.

[74] For the ideas and activities of these literary groups, see Saulnier, particularly Vol. I, Chs. I, II, IV, VI.

[75] *Ibid.*, I, 77–9, 40–1.

[76] Reprinted in *Blasons, poésies anciennes*, pp. 119–23.

[77] *Infra*, p. 115.

against "anatomical poetry" and his compunctions about his first *blason* began soon after the composition of "Les Cheveux".[78]

What were Vauzelles' relations with Protestantism? Nothing in his writings demonstrates sympathy with Protestant dogma, and there is no evidence from his ecclesiastical career that he was ever a Protestant. A question has been raised about some of his contacts. W. G. Moore has wondered whether the above-mentioned translation from the work of the Greek scholar Luscinius of Strassburg indicates that Vauzelles was in exile there with Lefèvre and Roussel in 1525.[79] The answer is undoubtedly no; Vauzelles probably bought Luscinius' book at one of the Lyons fairs. More ominous was his dedication of that work to Marguerite d'Angoulême. She had lived in Lyons for some months in 1524 and 1525 and brought with her such Protestant sympathizers as the *aumônier* Michel d'Arande and the *maître des requêtes* Antoine Papillon. Through her intervention the Cordelier Pierre de Sébiville, jailed on suspicion of heresy, was released from the prisons of the archbishop of Lyons. And yet at the same time she was seen praying piously at Saint Jean.[80] If there had actually been anything sinister in Vauzelles' dedication in 1526, it would certainly have aroused some reprisal from the chapter of Saint Jean. Not long before the chapter had taken action against the Dominican Aimé Meigret for his preaching of Lutheran doctrines in Lyons and Grenoble. Would the canon-counts have allowed a *chevalier* known to be tainted with heresy to retain so sensitive an office?[81]

Vauzelles' friendship with Nicolas Bourbon may also appear a puzzle. This poet from Champagne had been jailed and his property confiscated as a result of heretical ideas expressed in his *Nugae* of 1533.[82] After a brief stay in England, Bourbon lived in Lyons from 1536 to 1540. In the second edition of his *Nugae* (Lyons, 1538),

[78] Vauzelles was not alone in his reaction. See Saulnier, I, 81.

[79] W. G. Moore, *La Réforme allemande et la littérature française* (Strassburg, 1930), p. 155.

[80] Pierre Jourda, *Marguerite d'Angoulême* (Paris, 1930), I, 91–8; Roger Doucet, "Le XVI^e siècle", *Histoire de Lyon,* ed. A. Kleinclausz (Lyons, 1939), I, 396.

[81] N. Weiss, "Les débuts de la Réforme en France d'après quelques documents inédits. VII. Aimé Meigret, réformateur de Lyon et Grenoble, 1524", *Bulletin de la Société de l'histoire du protestantisme français,* LXXIV (1925), pp. 1–20. Writing in 1529, Symphorien Champier said, "En leglise de Lyon a sept docteurs chevaliers de ladicte eglise pour deffendre les droys dicelle eglise et pour deffendre leglise des faulx infideles et heretiques dont leglise a este et est a present infestee . . ." (P. Allut, *Étude biographique et bibliographique sur Symphorien Champier,* Lyons, 1859, pp. 377–8).

[82] Henri Hauser, "De l'humanisme et de la Réforme en France, 1512–1552," *Etudes sur la Réforme française* (Paris, 1909), pp. 33–4, 41–2; *La France protestante,* by Eugene and Emile Haag, 2d ed., ed. Henri Bordier (Paris, 1877–88), V, 1129–31; V. L. Saulnier, "Recherches sur Nicolas Bourbon", *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance,* XVI (1954), 178–9.

Bourbon wrote a poem in which he spoke of frequent visits to Vauzelles' home and of his admiration for the cleric's virtue.[83] Certain sympathies with the new ideas still appear in this edition: he condemned overemphasis on the merit of works and showed disgust at some monastic practices.[84] But it is from this same edition that Bourbon removed the most compromising sections, in particular replacing the offending "A Dieu tres bon, tres grand" with the orthodox poem "A la Vièrge Marie".[85] It may be that he was equally discreet with Jean de Vauzelles.

Two conclusions should be drawn regarding these "uncertain" contacts of Vauzelles. He was not a rigidly orthodox or extremely intolerant Catholic. Purely literary considerations were of great importance in his friendships and contacts. Nothing about his loyalty to Catholicism need be inferred from his relationship with a Nicolas Bourbon, just as no blemish in his chastity can be inferred from his literary friendship with the worldly Lyonnais poets Pernette de Guillet and Louise Labé.[86]

In addition to his dedicatory epistle[87] to the *Simulachres et Historiees Faces de la Mort,* Vauzelles has several essays[88] there in which he develops his attitude toward death, with supporting quotations from the Bible, the fathers, and pagan writers.[89] When one thinks on death and its inevitability, one is frightened and moved to lead a good life. "Les Images de Mort . . . c'est le vray et propre miroeur auquel on doibt corriger les defformitez de peché, et embellir

[83] L. de Vauzelles, pp. 67–8.

[84] Saulnier, "Nicolas Bourbon", p. 179.

[85] Hauser, pp. 41–2. Saulnier also admits "Il n'est pas moins vrai que sur certains points, le recueil ultérieur attenue les hardiesses de 1533" ("Nicolas Bourbon", p. 179, n. 6). Bourbon's demonstration of orthodoxy stood him in good stead for a few years, but in the long run was not believed by either side. In a letter of 1540, Farel talks of Bourbon as an ally, albeit a weak one (Hauser, p. 42, n. 1). His *Nugae* were condemned without specification as to edition on the 1546 list of the Theological Faculty of the University of Louvain (*Mandament,* D v^{r}). On the Tridentine Index, he is among those authors all of whose works are condemned (*Index Librorum Prohibitorum cum Regulis Confectis per Patres a Tridentina synodo, delectos . . . Cum appendice in Belgio, ex mandato Regiae Catholicae Maiestatis confecta,* Antwerp, 1570, p. 43). For Protestant contacts in Bourbon's later life, see Saulnier, "Nicolas Bourbon".

[86] He wrote a poem to Louise Labé, and a poetic epitaph for Pernette, at whose deathbed he officiated (L. de Vauzelles, p. 64).

[87] Signed with his device, "d'un vray zèle" (*Les Simulachres,* A ii^{r}).

[88] *Ibid.,* B i^{r}: "Diverses tables de Mort, non painctes, mais extraictes de l'escripture saincte." H i^{r}: "Figures de la Mort moralement descriptes, et depeinctes selon l'authorité de l'escripture, et des sainctz Peres." K i^{r}: "Les diverses Mors des Bons, et des maulvais, du viel et nouveau testament." L iii^{r}: "Memorables Authoritez, et sentences des Philosophes, et orateurs Payens pour confermer les vivans a non craindre la Mort." M iii^{v}: "De la Necessité de la Mort qui ne laisse riens estre pardurable."

[89] Tenenti notes classical references in *De doctrina morienda* of Josse Clichtove (1520) (p. 70). He and Vauzelles introduced humanist erudition into treatises about death.

l'Ame."[90] Although he does not dwell on the physical horrors of decay, he does describe the manner of death of the good and the evil, emphasizing particularly the violence or unpleasantness of the latter's end.[91] In contrast to the medieval works that usually accompanied the *Danse Macabre,* purgatory or the horrors of hell are not here used to underline Vauzelles' argument. Rather he emphasizes the bliss of death for the good: meeting Him face to face is the most precious gift of God to the just. All will be judged eventually and "qui n'a bien vescu, il vauldroit mieulx n'avoir eu vie, qui ne sera pour riens comptee vers Dieu immortel".[92]

Of what does the life of the just consist? Using a figure that he was later to express poetically in his "Blason de la Mort", Vauzelles says that as the nine months of pregnancy is preparation for this life, so this natural life is preparation for eternal life. As proper care is necessary for a healthy birth, so a proper life is necessary for a "living birth" at death.[93] Innocence, charity, chastity, wisdom,[94] hope, and faith are the virtues with which the just must be clothed at death. He must have tried to eliminate sins from his life, and for those he has committed true penitence is the "baptism" of death.[95] Vauzelles comments that it is a cruelty to lie to the ill about their state; those about to die must have time to make their will, have their sacraments, and prepare their souls for death.[96] Actually Vauzelles prefers that all life be a preparation for death: "Il n'est raisonnable ne juste que nous commettions tant de pechez toute nostre vie, et que ne veuillons que ung jour, ou une seule heure pour les plorer et s'en repentir".[97] How much time we spend on things we can not take beyond the grave—the soldier on his equipment, the merchant on his fairs, the laborer on his harvest! How little time we give to things of the soul![98]

Although he does not emphasize Christ, Vauzelles in many respects follows the school of Erasmian ethical Christianity. He is solidly opposed to Protestantism in his emphasis on virtue as the requisite for salvation, but he does not interpret virtue as the isolated, mechanical performance of "good works". In these attitudes he was

[90] *Les Simulachres,* A iv^{r}, A iv^{v}.
[91] *Ibid.,* K i^{r}–L ii^{v}.
[92] *Ibid.,* A iv^{r}, M iii^{r}.
[93] *Ibid.,* B ii^{r}–B ii^{v}.
[94] This requirement shows Vauzelles as the intellectual!
[95] *Les Simulachres,* B iii^{r}–B iii^{v}.
[96] *Ibid.,* N i^{v}–N ii^{v}.
[97] *Ibid.,* N iv^{r}.
[98] *Ibid.,* B ii^{v}–B iii^{r}.

not unlike many of his literary friends in Lyons during the 1530s.[99]

The question of Vauzelles' attitude toward the Holbein pictures still remains. Vauzelles evidently was sensitive to a possible accusation that in lending his name to a work of this sort, with pictures and verses paraphrasing quotations from the Bible, he might be following a Protestant policy. He justified the pictures by explaining that they impress death upon our minds more vividly than can any rhetoric. Did not the fathers and Jesus Christ use metaphorical language to make their preaching easier to understand? Are there not illustrations of the Bible decorating the "choeur de ceste tant venerable Eglise de Lyon" and do these not serve as useful literature for the illiterate? And then, with a specific crack at the Protestants: "Que voulut Dieu, quoy qu'en debatent ces furieux Iconomachiens, que de telles ou semblables images fussent tapissées toutes noz Eglises mais que noz yeulx ne se delectassent a aultres plus pernicieux spectacles".[100]

Certainly Vauzelles must have known that Holbein was responsible for the designs. Even if the Trechsels had not informed him, Nicolas Bourbon, who had had his portrait painted by Holbein in England and who referred in the 1538 *Nugae* to Holbein's authorship of the death pictures, must have told Vauzelles.[101] As stated above, Vauzelles may have omitted reference to Holbein's name out of fear that the name might give offense to some. But from this precaution it does not necessarily follow that Vauzelles really thought the anti-clerical satire would be interpreted as heretical. He must have believed that an improvement in clerical mores and even in the practice of granting indulgences could only benefit the church, and that the church was strong enough to withstand public criticism.

This is well illustrated by Vauzelles' choice, for the recipient of his dedication, of Jeanne de Thouzelles, abbess of the old, powerful, and rich Saint-Pierre-les-Nonnains in Lyons. St. Pierre, open only to women with four generations of paternal nobility, was the convent to which the best families in surrounding provinces sent their daughters. During the first quarter of the sixteenth century, numerous scandals were revealed, including secret visits through the easily opened doors and windows of the nuns' dwelling. The discovery of

[99] See Ferdinand Buisson, *Sébastien Castellion. Sa vie et son oeuvre* (Paris, 1892), I; Hauser, *op. cit.;* Saulnier, *Maurice Scève,* I, 114.

[100] *Les Simulachres,* A iii^{r}–A iii^{v}. Interestingly enough, these same Biblical illustrations in the choir of Saint Jean were destroyed when the Protestants took over Lyons in 1562 (A. Kleinclausz, *Lyon, des origines à nos jours,* Lyons, 1925, p. 114).

[101] Chamberlain, p. 211; Saulnier, "Nicolas Bourbon," pp. 187–8.

the nuns Alix de Tesieux and Isabelle de Feugières in the house of the archdeacon of the Chapter of St. Jean climaxed the affair. Despite resistance on the part of the *religieuses,* the efforts of the archbishop of Lyons and a papal bull of 1516 succeeded in restoring order and decorum to the convent.[102] Jeanne de Thouzelles, of Auvergne, joined the convent in 1525 as a reforming abbess.[103] Not long after an episode occurred serving simultaneously to dramatize the reform of the convent and to refute the heresies that Aimé Meigret had been preaching in Lyons in 1524. The ex-nun Alix de Tesieux had recently died without the sacrament in the fields of Dauphiné. Her soul appeared to a devout nun one night, and when word of this spread, a ceremony was held at St. Pierre, February 1526 (1527, new style), witnessed by the nuns and some "gens de bien", to help Alix get out of purgatory. First an evil spirit was exorcised. Then the soul of Alix was conjured and a conversation held. When asked if there was such a place as purgatory, she answered that there was. "Par ceste response", reported a witness, "est confuse et condemnee la damnable assertion des faulx hereticques luteriens."[104] Alix dutifully provided other evidence against the heretics, and the matter ended with her escape from purgatory.[105]

No one could suspect the religion of the abbess of St. Pierre! Vauzelles significantly called her "l'exemplaire de religieuse religion et de reformée reformation".[106] One writer has suggested that if she had seen Holbein's pictures first she would never have accepted Vauzelles' dedication.[107] On the contrary, if Jeanne saw the book, wishing for no recurrence of scandal among her girls she might well have welcomed the criticism of the nun with her lover in her cell.

There is no sufficient reason, then, for doubting the loyalty to the Roman church of any person connected with the 1538 edition of Holbein's pictures. Among them they may have represented several shades of orthodoxy, but in such a time of upheaval so would almost any mixed group of adherents to Holy Church. The transfer of Holbein's blocks from Catholic to Protestant auspices may be fully accounted for by economic causes. The strike of the *compagnons*

[102] On the convent of St. Pierre in the sixteenth century, see A. Coville, "Une visite de l'abbaye de Saint-Pierre de Lyon en 1503", *Revue d'histoire de Lyon,* XI (1912), 241–72.

[103] Claude Le Laboureur, *Les masures de l'Ile-Barbe* (Lyons, 1887), II, ii 2.

[104] Adrien de Montalembert, *La Merveilleuse Hystoire de Lesperit de Lyon* (Paris, 1528); facsimile edition (Lyons, 1887), J ii^{v}.

[105] *E.g.,* she explained that the pope could deliver her from purgatory "par son auctorité papal". Fasts and pilgrimages could also help (*ibid.,* J viii^{v}).

[106] *Les Simulachres,* A ii^{r}.

[107] "Introduction," *Danse Macabre* (as above, note 41), p. 47.

imprimeurs of Lyons in 1539 disrupted the industry.[108] The Trechsel brothers closed their shop: Melchior hired out as *facteur* for another publisher; Gaspard moved his equipment to Vienne nearby and commenced printing there.[109] In the course of this move he must have sold some of his material, for the woodcuts for Holbein's *Simulachres de la Mort* and *Historiarum Veteris Testamenti Icones* passed into the hands of two Protestants of Lyons, Jean and François Frellon.

III

The 1542 Protestant editions of the *Pictures of Death* coincided with an upsurge of evangelical propaganda throughout France. But the Frellon publications must also be seen in the context of the Protestant movement in Lyons, which in the late 1530s and early 1540s was small and inactive. The circle of humanists and intellectuals sympathetic to the Reformation that had come to Lyons during the 1530s was being dispersed: either they became somewhat disenchanted, like Jean Voulté and Nicolas Bourbon, or they left the city for Switzerland, like Eustorg de Beaulieu and Sébastien Castellion. The native Protestant movement received two blows in 1534. A Genevan draper, Baudichon de la Maisonneuve, who attempted to proselytize at the fairs of Lyons, and his companion Janin le Collonier, who had brought evangelical books to distribute, were denounced and arrested.[110] Alexandre Canus, an ex-Jacobin, preached the new ideas to a small group of goldsmiths and merchants in private homes and finally spoke publicly at Easter 1534, "avec grand auditoire". Arrested and condemned in Lyons, he appealed unsuccessfully to the Parlement de Paris and was burned in Paris in June of that year.[111] A month later, Jean Chappon, "pelliparius" of Lyons and probably a part of this little band, moved to Geneva. Pierre Chappuis, goldsmith, and his brother François, a doctor who left for Geneva the following year, must also have listened to Canus.[112] We know of no Protestant preaching in Lyons again until 1542. Still, the movement did not completely die. In 1538, the archives of

[108] Marius Audin, "Les grèves dans l'imprimerie à Lyon, au seizième siècle", *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch* (1935), pp. 172–4.

[109] Audin, p. 175; *Bibliographie lyonnaise,* XII, 233, 250.

[110] Merle d'Aubigné, "La Réforme à Lyon. Procès inquisitionnel contre Baudichon de la Maisonneuve, de Genève, pour cause d'hérésie", *Bulletin de la Société de l'histoire du protestantisme français,* XV (1866), 113–24.

[111] Jean Crespin, *Histoire des Martyrs Persecutez et Mis à Mort pour la verité de l'Evangile* (Geneva, 1619), 106^{v}; Alfred Aeschimann, *Les origines et le développement de la Réforme à Lyon* (Lyons, 1916), p. 36.

[112] Alfred Covelle, *Le livre des bourgeois de l'ancienne république de Genève* (Geneva, 1897), July, 1534; June, 1547; June, 1535.

the cathedral chapter refer succinctly to steps being taken in the pursuit of "plurium lhuteranorum",[113] and two years later, three or four unknown Lutherans were burned in Lyons.[114] Jean Kléberg, wealthy German banker, respected citizen of Lyons, and outwardly a Catholic, maintained his properties and relations in Geneva during these years.[115] The printer Jacques Estauge was in frequent contact with Protestant Basle and even obtained citizenship there while continuing permanent residence in Lyons.[116] And the doctor and editor Michel Servetus alias Villanovanus was in and out of Lyons during this period. In 1542, the year in which the second edition of Holbein's *Pictures of Death* appeared, a Carmelite of Lyons preached at Lent to the flock and then, having fled to Geneva, was found by Calvin to be ignorant of Scripture and Latin, arrogant, and unworthy of the ministry.[117] A few months later, Étienne Dolet, who had been printing suspicious books, was thrown into the jails of the archbishop of Lyons and was found to be "mauvais, scandaleux, schismatique, hérétique, fauteur et défenseur des heretiques et erreurs . . ."[118]

The role of Jean Frellon in the Protestant movement was important. He and François were the sons of a Parisian printer. François is a shadowy figure and appears dominated by his active brother till his early death in 1546. Jean received his training in Basle at the house of Conrad Roesch, a bookseller and printer who had left France for reasons of religion. Probably at this time, Jean obtained citizenship in Basle. By 1536, he and his brother were definitely established as *libraires* on the Rue Mercière in Lyons at l'Écu de Cologne.[119]

For the first years that they were in Lyons, the Frellon brothers published chiefly legal books and editions of some of the classics. In 1536, undoubtedly for the sake of caution and to help in getting established, Jean Frellon published *Opuscula adversus Lutheranos,* by Cardinal Cajetan.[120] At the same time, Jean seems to have been

[113] Archives of the Chapter of Lyons, XLIII, 116, 12^{v}–13. This reference was kindly communicated to the author by M. Joly, librarian of the Bibliothèque Municipale of Lyons.

[114] Doucet, *op. cit.* (above, note 80), p. 402.

[115] Eugène Vial, "Jean Cléberger", *Revue d'histoire de Lyon,* X (1912), 94, 99 n. 3.

[116] Alfred Cartier, "Les Dixains Catholiques et Jacques Estauge, imprimeur à Bâle", *Mélanges offerts à M. Émile Picot* (Paris, 1913), I, 310–1.

[117] A. L. Herminjard, *Correspondance des Réformateurs dans les pays de langue française* (Geneva, 1878–98), VIII, 19–27.

[118] *La France protestante,* V, 425. On whether Dolet was actually a Protestant or not, cf. Richard Copley Christie, *Étienne Dolet. The Martyr of the Renaissance* (London, 1899), O. Douen, "Etienne Dolet. Ses opinions religieuses", *Bulletin de la Société de l'histoire du protestantisme français* (1881), XXX, 337 ff., 385 ff., and the articles by Lucien Lefebvre and C. A. Mayer in *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance* VI (1943) and XVII (1955).

[119] For details on the Frellon brothers, see *Bibliographie lyonnaise,* V, 154–64.

[120] *Ibid.,* V, 171–4.

engaged in the sale and distribution of Protestant literature in France. For example, in May 1538 the Council of Basle felt compelled to write to Jean Morin, *lieutenant criminel* of the *prévôt* of Paris, on behalf of Conrad Roesch and Jean Frellon, then in Paris, who, the council feared, were about to be punished under a recent royal ruling against the sale of Lutheran books.[121] Also in 1538, the brothers published at Lyons a work Catholic in appearance but Protestant in sentiment, the *Precationes Biblicae*.[122]

Jean Frellon continued selling Protestant books until 1568, the year of his death, when he wrote of "septante balles de livres de la religion que j'avois achetee en Alemaigne".[123] In 1542, he became a printer as well as a publisher, calling the Protestant Michel Du Bois from Geneva to run his presses for him and his brother.[124] Jean Frellon did print some works for the Protestant cause—for example, editions of the *Precationes Biblicae,* the *Precationes Christianae,* vernacular Bibles, and some others to be discussed below.[125] He was, however, discreet. His house printed many legal, medical, and classical works; it never became the source of occasional or polemical Protestant propaganda. A friend of Calvin, Frellon put Servetus, who served as his corrector in 1540 and edited for him a Spanish edition of Aquinas in 1542, in touch with the Genevan reformer.[126] He himself was active in the Protestant Church of Lyons; we find both him and his frequent business associate Antoine Vincent members of the Protestant Consistory in 1564.[127]

It seems clear that the Frellon brothers had little to do with the planning of the Catholic edition of Holbein's *Pictures of Death.* Since the woodcuts belonged to the Trechsel brothers at the time, final decisions about the organization of the book would of course rest with them. Moreover, as the above-mentioned letter from the Council of Basle indicates, Jean Frellon was away from his establishment in Lyons in the early months of 1538. François Frellon *did* contribute an introductory epistle to the 1538 edition of Holbein's *Old Testament Pictures.* But the latter work consisted only of wood-

[121] Herminjard, v, 7–8.

[122] *Bibliographie lyonnaise,* v, 177; Herminjard, v, 7. It was condemned by the faculty of theology of the University of Louvain in 1546 (*Mandament,* D vi^{r}–D vi^{v}).

[123] *Bibliographie lyonnaise,* v, 169.

[124] *Ibid.,* v, 157.

[125] Also his Latin Bibles of 1551 and 1555 were condemned by the Spanish inquisitor Valdès (*Cathalogus librorum qui prohibentur mandato et Reverendi D.D. Ferdinandi de Valdes,* Valladolid, 1559, p. 14). In an illustration for a Latin New Testament of 1553, the devil is drawn as a monk (*Bibliographie lyonnaise,* v, 159).

[126] Baudrier, pp. 42, 51; Bainton, pp. 129, 144; *Calvini opera omnia,* VIII, 834–5.

[127] *Archives municipales de Lyon,* GG87, packet 1, pièce 2.

cuts, Biblical quotations, and verses devoid of controversy. François Frellon merely expressed the same idea that Corrozet was to put into verse for the 1539 edition: people should turn aside from frivolous pictures to these religious ones.[128] The setting of the Bible cuts might be agreed on by the four men, but the pictures of death were another matter. It seems likely that just as their *Precationes Biblicae* of 1538 were Catholic in appearance but Protestant in content, the first edition of the *Pictures of Death* would have been the same *if* the Frellon brothers had had control of the woodcuts at the time. In fact, four years later, such editions did appear.

In 1542, from the presses of the Frellon brothers, there appeared:

Imagines de Morte, et Epigrammata, è Gallico idiomate à Georgio Aemylio in Latinum translata. His accesserunt, Medicina animæ, tam iis qui firma, quàm qui aduersa corporis valetudine præditi sunt, maximè necessaria, Ratio consolandi ob morbi grauitatem periculosè decumbentes. D. Cæcilii Cypriani . . . sermo de mortalitate. D. Chrysostomi Patriarchæ Constantinopolitani, de Patientia . . . sermo.[129]

Les Simulachres, & Historiees Faces de la Mort, contenant La Medecine de l'Ame, vtile & necessaire non seulement aux malades, mais à tous qui sont en bonne disposition corporelle. D'avantage, La forme & manière de consoler les malades. Sermon de sainct Cecile Cyprian, intitulé de Mortalité. Sermon de S. Ian Chrysostome, pour nous exhorter à patience . . .[130]

Gone are the introduction and essays by the cleric Jean de Vauzelles.[131] The Latin edition opens with a poem on the problems of translation by George Oemler, who will be discussed below.[132] The French edition begins with a brief unsigned epistle—perhaps by one of the Frellon brothers—asserting that death, the most certain thing in life, must occupy our thoughts rather than earthly cares. This work will provide courage to face death. We must not permit ourselves to be seduced by "faulse opinions" and must pray God to clean out

[128] *Historiarum veteris Instrumenti Icones ad vivum expressae,* A i^{v}.

[129] *Bibliographie lyonnaise,* v, 184–5. Jean Frellon later reported that the Latin edition appeared earlier in 1542 (*Simolachri, Historie e Figure de la Morte . . . ,* Lyons: Jean Frellon, 1549, A 2^{v}, University of Michigan).

[130] *Bibliographie lyonnaise,* v, 186.

[131] The rare 1542 editions were unavailable to the writer. Instead the 1547 editions, published by Jean Frellon, have been used (*Imagines Mortis, Duodecim Imaginibus praeter priores, totidemque Inscriptionibus, praeter epigrammata è Gallicis à Georgio Aemylio in Latinum versa, cumulatae. Quae his addita sunt, sequens pagina commonstrabit,* Lugduni: sub scuto Coloniensi. Excudebat Joannes Frellonius, 1547, Houghton Library, Harvard University; *Les Images de la Mort, Auxquelles sont adioustées douze figures. Davantage, la Medecine de l'Ame. La Consolation des Malades. Un Sermon de Mortalité par sainct Cyprian. Un Sermon de Patience par sainct Jehan Chrysostome,* Newberry Library). Insofar as the essays and verses are concerned they are identical with the 1542 editions.

[132] *Imagines,* A 2^{r}–A 2^{v}; *infra,* p. 127.

"toute mauvaise infection causée par faulse doctrine, et garder en santé spirituelle tous ceux qui par vraye foy s'attendant à sa divine grace, collocans en icelle toutes esperance de salut".[133] The reference to "false opinions" is ambiguous, though perhaps more characteristic of Catholic writings than of Protestant at the time; the last phrase, however, gives the reader a premonition of things to come.

The *Medicina Animae* and *Medecine de l'Ame,* which follow the Holbein woodcuts, are similar in purpose and doctrine, but are not identical essays. Their opening sections contain familiar ideas—ideas which might well have been acceptable to Vauzelles—but these sections are not mere translations of each other. Death is the consequence of sin, begins the *Medicina Animae;* we fear it greatly yet spend insufficient time preparing for it. People must be helped to resist the devil's onslaught on the dying Christian, and to that end this essay has been written. God has sent us illness to test or correct us, but His wrath is not that of a tyrant but of a loving father. In death He calls us to Him and to Christ. Yet on the deathbed, the sick are usually in an agony of fear as they contemplate their sins, death, Hell, and damnation.[134]

The opening of the *Medecine de l'Ame* explains that it is not death or illness that the Christian must hate, but sin, the poison of the soul. Emphasis is given to the idea that everything happens by God's will. God has His reasons for bringing us illness and death—as in the *Medicina Animae,* to test us, discipline us, or bring us to beatitude.[135] Still it is right for the sick man to call in a doctor; just as God sends us illness through natural means, so if He intends our cure, it will be through natural means—the doctor's aid and medicines.[136] If there is no hope for cure the sick man must remember that though death is the consequence of original sin it also brings our transference to eternal glory. Those who fear it are placing inferior worldly goods above celestial ones. The future of one's wife and children, problems of wealth and inheritance may be considered, but it must be remembered that God is more important than goods, and one's spiritual heritage than one's material heritage.[137]

At this point the *Medecine de l'Ame* and the *Medicina Animae* become essentially the same essay in different languages, and the

[133] *Images,* A 2^{r}–A 2^{v}.
[134] *Imagines,* D 6^{r}–E 3^{v}.
[135] *Images,* D 6^{r}–E 4^{r}.
[136] *Ibid.,* E 4^{r}–E 5^{v}. This paragraph, considerably shortened, also appears in the Latin essay, although placed at a different and less logical point (*Imagines,* F 3^{r}–F 3^{v}).
[137] *Images,* E 5^{v}–F 3^{v}.

reader moves to their Protestant theological core. When the dying man is terrified by the thought of his sins, he must be reminded that Christ took upon Himself all the sins of everyone and paid the penalty for them through His death. Many quotations from the Bible to this effect are introduced.[138] "I Timo. I. Christus Iesus venit in mundum, ut peccatores salvos faceret. Hoc mi frater, spera et tu, his verbis habe fidem, quemadmodum Paulus, tunc saluberis et iustificaberis."[139] Secondly, when the dying man is frightened of death, he must remember the resurrection of the dead. The souls of believers never die, and their bodies, at the day of judgment, will be resurrected whole and glorious. Again Biblical quotations are introduced as testimony and again justification by faith is emphasized in the commentary.[140] "L'homme se fiant en la misericorde de Christ annoncee en l'Evangile est tellement conioinct avec son Seigneur Jesus Christ, qui est la vraye vie, qu'on ne l'en pourroit aucunement separer."[141]

Finally, the devil disturbs the dying man by asking whether he may not be among those whom God has consigned to Hell. "C'est une chose folle et dangereuse de penser si fort à la predestination." In answer to such doubts, keep remembering that all who have faith in Christ's mercy are among those elected to eternal life.[142] Further, if you feel your own "dilection envers Dieu" is a little cold, then you must invoke God with ardor and tell Him of your incredulity, and doubtless he will aid you. "Ces deux choses, croire en Christ et ardemment desirer la Foy, sont presque une mesme chose."[143]

In the *Medicina Animae,* we then read some sections on the sacraments and on moderation in funerals and mourning, and move rapidly to the conclusion.[144] The *Medecine de l'Ame,* in addition, has further material on how to combat the devil's questions, how the sick man should pray, etc., and some interesting discussion on the relations between faith, works, and love.[145] For example, the writer poses the question (as Vauzelles might well have done), can man gain

[138] *Images,* F 4^{r}–G 2^{v}, *Imagines,* E 4^{r}–F 2^{v}.

[139] *Imagines,* E 6^{v}–E 7^{r}, *Images,* F 6^{v}. "Jesus Christ est venu au Monde pour sauver les pecheurs, desquelz ie suis le principal. Mon frere, aye foy en ses parolles, ainsi qu'a eu sainct Paul, et lors tu seras iustifie et sauvé."

[140] *Imagines,* F 3^{v}–G 1^{r}, *Images,* G 2^{v}–G 8^{r}.

[141] *Images,* G 7^{r}, *Imagines,* G 1^{r}. "Homo christi misericordia fideus, propter fidem et Evangeli haustam, Christo domino suo, qui vera est vita, sic incorporatus est, ut ita dicam, et sic unitus et copulatus, ut ab eo separari et divelli non possit."

[142] *Images,* G 8^{r}–G 8^{v}, *Imagines,* G 2^{r}. "Stultissimum est et periculosum indulgere his cogitationibus de praedestinatione . . ."

[143] *Images,* H 4^{v}–H 6^{r}, *Imagines,* G 7^{r}. "Siquidem haec duo, credere in Christum, et votis ardentibus fidem expetere, non multum inter se distant . . ."

[144] *Imagines,* G 8^{r}–H 4^{v}.

[145] *Images,* H 7^{r}–I 6^{r}.

eternal life merely by saying, "I believe in Christ", and are good works thus vain and useless? No, for "La Foy est une operation de Dieu en l'homme, vive et bouillante qui . . . continuellement l'incite à toutes bonnes oeuvres".[146] Obviously, Vauzelles would not have been satisfied by this answer!

Interspersed among the Protestant teachings of the *Medicina Animae* and the *Medecine de l'Ame* are sentences and paragraphs quite clearly designed to give a Catholic appearance to the essays. For example, there is an occasional reference to that most august sacrament of the Eucharist, treated with contempt by the heretics.[147] In the Latin essay, we do find a section in which the notion of communion in both kinds is suggested, but this is omitted in the equivalent French section.[148] Particularly significant are the paragraphs in both essays on confession, the Eucharist, and extreme unction. The sick man should make a brief confession to a "Prestre exercité aux lettres divines". If no priest is available, the dying man should not have superstitious fears, but confess directly to God.[149] Then, with all his strength, he will request the "saint sacrament d'Eucharistie", and will receive it with firm faith. Finally the "Prestres de l'Eglise" will pray for him and anoint him. God will surely pardon his sins if he and those praying for him have faith.[150] These paragraphs are of course not orthodox to the letter, but they do contain Catholic phrases and notions not used by the Protestants of the time.

Following the *Medicine of the Soul* is an anonymous essay on "La Forme et la manière de consoler les Malades" ("Ratio et Methodus consolandi periculose decumbentes").[151] This is the same in both editions and repeats the essential Protestant ideas of the first essay. Finally, the sermons of Cyprian and Chrysostom mentioned in the titles elaborate further on values important to the Christian, while not negating the evangelical message of the essays.

These treatises and those of Vauzelles make an interesting comparison. Both sets of essays are concerned to give an appropriate Christian interpretation of death. Both emphasize the consolations of death; unlike the fifteenth-century popular works on death, they do not attempt to use fear of the punishments after death as a means to move the reader. Many of the controversial issues of the Reforma-

[146] *Ibid.*, H 7[r].
[147] *Imagines*, D 8[v]–E 1[r].
[148] *Imagines*, E 7[r], *Images*, F 6[v].
[149] *Images*, H 7[v]–H 8[r], *Imagines*, G 8[v]. The Latin edition merely says "exomologesyn".
[150] *Images*, H 8[r]–H 8[v], *Imagines*, H 1[r]–H 1[v].
[151] *Images*, I 7[r] ff., *Imagines*, H 5[r] ff.

tion are avoided. Both lean heavily on Biblical material, although the erudite Vauzelles adds much material from ancient sources. The fundamental difference is in their doctrines of salvation. For Vauzelles, the virtuous life is requisite; for the Protestant writers it is faith alone.

What was the origin of these anonymous treatises that the Frellon brothers included in their editions of the pictures of death? A few authorities have identified the *Medicina Animae* with an essay with the same title by the German Urbanus Rhegius (1489–1541).[152] First printed in Augsburg in 1529 as *Seelen artzney fur gesund und kranken,* the work had several German editions, and was translated into Low German in 1530 and into Latin by Johannes Freder in 1537.[153] Now Rhegius had changed from a Catholic priest actively supporting his friend and master John Eck in 1519 to an open supporter of Luther in 1521. By 1529, when he wrote his *Medicine of the Soul,* he had married, had written several Lutheran works, and was a Lutheran pastor in Augsburg. After the Diet of Augsburg, Rhegius was a central figure in the organization of Lutheran religious life in Lüneberg.[154]

The Protestant doctrines of the *Medicine of the Soul* would flow naturally from the pen of Rhegius. But the sections on the sacraments, as they appear in the essays in the Holbein editions, do not seem appropriate in the writings of a Lutheran pastor! Consequently, an investigation of the various editions and translations of Rhegius' work is in order.[155] The *Medicina Animae* done by Freder is found to be a faithful translation of Rhegius' German original. The *Medicina Animae* which the Frellon brothers published is indeed based on the

[152] *The British Museum General Catalogue of Printed Books* (1951), Vol. 47, p. 699; Fr. Heinrich Reusch, *Der Index der verbotenen Bücher* (Bonn, 1853), 241–2. I wish to thank Mr. Frederick R. Goff of the Library of Congress for his aid in finding these attributions.

[153] Gerhard Ahlhorn, *Urbanus Rhegius, Leben und ausgewählte Schriften* (Elberfeld, 1861), p. 357, n. 16; *British Museum Catalogue* (1946), Vol. 45, "Rhegius". First German edition: *Seelen Artzney fur gesund und kranken zu diesen gefarlichen zeyten durch Urbanum Rhegium.* i.f. Getruct zu Augsburg durch Alexander Weissenhorn bei sant Ursula Closter M.D. XXIX. First Low German edition: *Seelen arstedie vor de gesunden unde kranken. Tho dessen darliken tyden, unde yn dodes noden, dorch Urbanum Rhegium.* Gedrucket tho Magdeborch dorch Hans Walther. 1530. Johannes Freder's translation first appeared at Wittenberg in 1537, printed by N. Schirlentz.

[154] On Rhegius, see Ahlhorn, *op. cit.;* Ch. Heimbürger, *Urbanus Rhegius* (Hamburg, 1851); Otto Seitz, *Die Theologie des Urbanus Rhegius* (Gotha, 1898).

[155] The following editions were used: *Seelen Arstedie vor de gesunden unde krankcken Tho dessen varliken tiden dorch Urbanum Rhegium,* Magdeburg: Hans Walther, 1532; "Medicina Animae" [tr. Joannes Frederus], *Opera Urbani Regii Latine Edita,* Impressa Noribergae, in officina Joannis Montani et Ulrici Neuberi, 1562, ccccxii^{r} ff. A different Latin translation appeared in Frankfurt in 1548: *Psychopharmacon, Hoc est: Medicina animae . . .* Frankfurt apud Chr. Egenolphum. This is a collection of essays made by Reinhard Lorichius, who presumably also made the new translation of the *Seelen artzney.*

Freder translation,[156] but the Rhegius work contains no sections whatsoever on the sacraments and no "Catholic sentences" on the Eucharist. Rhegius' work is uncompromisingly Lutheran. Further, the paragraphs on the permissibility of using a doctor, the will, and mourning, are also additions of the Frellon edition. The French *Medecine de l'Ame* differs even more widely from the original Rhegius work; not only does it include the added sections just described, but also the long opening and closing sections, described earlier as unlike the Latin essay of 1542, are also unlike the original Rhegius. In short, considerable modification and addition was made under the direction of (or perhaps by) Jean and François Frellon[157] for the sake of placating the censors, elaborating doctrine, and treating such worldly matters as inheritance.[158]

The source of *La Forme et la maniere de consoler les Malades* has not been found, nor has any reference to it earlier than 1542 been discovered.

Holbein's pictures were, of course, the attraction of the Frellons' 1542 editions. The pictures and the Bible quotations above them were identical with those in the 1538 edition for which Vauzelles wrote his essays. Both the Catholics and the Protestants wished, through the pictures, to turn men's thoughts to a Christian preparation for death; both editions included the specifically Christian message of the Biblical illustrations at the beginning and the end of the series. For Vauzelles, not only was anticlerical satire traditional in the dance of death, but also it would coincide with his convictions about the need for reforming the church from within. For the Frellon brothers, the fact that such satire was traditional might have led them to hope that the inquisitors would not scrutinize the contents of their editions too closely; but they and those to whom the editions

[156] There are occasional very slight modifications in the Frellon edition. E.g., "fugit, et execratur supplicia" for "fugiat supplicia", "Nemo" for "At cum nemo" (*Imagines,* D 6^{r}; *Opera,* ccccxii^{v}). The Lorichius translation is very different from that of Freder, being more rhetorical and expansive, though still adhering closely to Rhegius' original essay.

[157] It seems very likely that the described changes in the *Medicine of the Soul* originated with the Frellon editions. Except for the Lyons editions, the earliest edition outside of Germany that I know of is "*La Medecine de l'Ame,* imprimee a Geneve", among the books condemned from December 1542 to March 1543 by the theology faculty of the University of Paris ("Catalogus Librorum Visitatorum et qualificatorum per facultatem theologiae Parisiensis e Festo Nativitatis Dominicae, anno Domini 1542 ad secundam diem Martii ejusdem anni", *Collectio Judiciorum,* II, 134). Surely, the "Catholic sections" would not appear in the Genevan work. A. Cartier does not mention this edition in his *Arrets du Conseil de Geneve sur le fait de l'imprimerie et de la libraire de 1541 à 1550.*

[158] The section on calling the doctor which was added in the French edition includes the following sentence: "Et pour dire le vray, il ny a rien qui decore plus une cité, que le medecin de bonne conscience et de ferme erudition" (*Images,* E 5^{r}). Was the writer inspired by Michel de Villeneuve, Jean Frellon's friend in 1542?

were addressed would perceive the satire in a context totally different from that of Vauzelles. Criticism of the pope and the cardinals, criticism of monastic mores and indulgences in the years of Luther and Calvin would imply, to them, a direct attack on the church—particularly, the Frellon brothers would feel, when followed by essays on Protestant theory. The bishop and parish priest are spared? The Frellons had enough aesthetic sense not to sacrifice the pictures to make the further point.

The verses in the French edition are those which Corrozet had previously composed. The harsh verse about the preacher in the pulpit was a reference, it was conjectured above, to the inclusion of nefarious Protestant propaganda in sermons. But since the verse is not specific, readers sympathetic to Protestantism would view the preacher as a tyrannous Catholic who had wandered from that sole source of knowledge, the sacred Scripture.

The verses for the Latin edition were translated by George Aemylius or Oemler. Often misidentified as Luther's brother-in-law, he was actually the son of Nicolas Oemler, a school friend of Luther from Mansfeld. Later George Oemler became a friend of Melanchthon and Luther, and was described by the latter in 1539 as "juvenis optimus et poetica vena insignis".[159] That same year there appeared at Frankfort *Biblicae historiae magno artificio depictae,* woodcuts copied in part from Holbein's Old Testament pictures, with Latin verses composed by Oemler.[160] Perhaps it was this work that suggested to the Frellon brothers the use of Oemler for their Latin edition of the pictures of death. By and large, Oemler's Latin verses are faithful to the original French, except in the cases of the monk and the nun, where Corrozet's verses were not severe enough for the German Protestant. For example, in his verse on the monk, Oemler says,

> Haec via fallendi mortalis pulchra videtur
> Qua tegitur ficta relligione malum.
> Nanque foris simulant magnum pietatis amorem,
> Omne voluptatum sed genus intus habent.

But in the end Death assembles all sinners.[161]

[159] Born in 1517, Oemler went to the University of Wittenberg and moved with that institution to Jena, becoming a member of the faculty of arts in 1537. In 1540, he obtained a rectorship at Siegen. On him, see "Briefwechsel", *D. Martin Luthers Werke* (Weimar, 1938), VIII, 430 ff.

[160] *Ibid.,* VIII, 431–2; *Holbein's Historical Figures of the Old Testament* (Holbein Society, 1869), pp. 86–7.

[161] *Imagines,* B 6^{r}. Oddly enough, Oemler took his inspiration for this verse from the Biblical quotation over the *nun's* picture, "Est via quae videtur homini iusta . . ." and wrote for her a verse on a different theme (*ibid.,* B 6^{v}).

The *Pictures of Death* were evidently popular, for the Frellon *atelier* published two subsequent editions in each language. Additional woodcuts appeared in them, but since they have no bearing on anticlerical satire or on the religious content of the work, they will not be discussed. The 1547 French edition bears the title *Les Images de la Mort;* to make things easier for his readers Jean Frellon had the Biblical quotations above the pictures translated into French. In 1562, the year in which the Protestants of Lyons seized control of the city, Jean Frellon brought out a final French edition, printed by the Protestant Symphorien Barbier, since Frellon had sold his own presses.[162] The Latin editions date from 1545 and 1547, and contain two Latin prayers for the sick and the dying, *Oratio ad Deum* and *Oratio ad Christum,* which are Protestant in tone.

The hopes of the Frellon brothers to avoid the inquisitor's censure by camouflaging their editions were disappointed. The church found the Protestant edition of the *Pictures of Death* detrimental to Catholicism. It condemned not only the essays[163] but the whole woodcut edition. Among the books censured by the theology faculty of the University of Paris from 1544 to 1551 is *Simulachres et histoires sacrées* [*sic,* for *Historiees Faces*], *contenant La medecine de l'ame, avec la forme et maniere de consoler les malades.* Evidently because of the confusion in the title, *Les Simulachres de la Mort* is repeated immediately after.[164] *Simulachres de la Mort avec la medecine de l'ame* is also on a 1570 list of condemned books compiled in Belgium.[165] *Imagines Mortis, cum Medicina animae* appears on Valdes' list of 1559, the Belgian list 1570, and the papal list of 1595.[166]

[162] *Les Images de la Mort, auxquelles sont adioustées dixsept figures. Davantage, La Medecine de l'Ame. La Consolation des Malades. Un Sermon de Mortalité, par Sainct Cyprian. Un Sermon de Patience, par Saint Jehan Chrysostome.* A Lyon, par Jehan Frellon. A Lyon par Symphorien Barbier, 1562 (Fogg Museum). The Biblical quotations are in French, as in the 1547 edition. The "Catholic sections" of the *Medecine de l'Ame* are retained, even though the city was then in Protestant hands.

[163] *La Medecine de l'Ame,* Fac. Theol., Univ. of Paris (Dec. 1542–March 1543), *Collectio Judiciorum,* II, 134; *Een medecyn der zielen voor den ghesonden, ende crancken in doots noot, ende allen menschen zeer profitelijck,* Fac. Theol., Univ. of Louvain (1546), *Mandament,* e ii^{v}; *Medicina del anima . . . traduzida de Latin en romance,* Valdès' list (1559), *Cathalogus librorum,* C vii^{r}. The last two are surely independent of the pictures of death as Holbein's woodcuts did not come out in Dutch or Spanish editions. Both essays appear on the Tridentine Index in Latin and Italian, *Index Librorum Prohibitorum,* 42, 43. Curiously enough, in no instance is Rhegius' name associated with the *Medicine of the Soul,* although he appears in his own right on the various indexes, e.g., *Index auctorum et Librorum, qui ab Officio sanctae Rom. et Universalis Inquisitionis caveri ab omnibus . . . mandantur . . . ,* Rome: Antonius Bladus, Jan. 1560 (n.s.).

[164] *Collectio Judiciorum,* II, 177.

[165] *Index Librorum Prohibitorum . . . Cum appendice in Belgio, ex mandato Regiae Catholicae Maiestatis confecta,* 80.

[166] *Cathalogus Librorum,* B v^{r}, B vii^{v}; *Index Librorum Prohibitorum* (Antwerp, 1570), 65; *Index Librorum Prohibitorum* (Vienna, 1595), 76, 65.

In 1549, Jean Frellon printed an Italian *Simolachri, Historie, e Figure de la Morte,* and complained in his brief introduction of a pirated edition of the cuts.[167] This had been brought out in Italian by Vincent Vaugris in Venice in 1545, and included the Protestant essays and new woodcuts of Holbein's designs which Vaugris boasted were more beautiful than those in the French edition.[168] A few details from Vaugris' life make his interest in the edition understandable. Born near Lyons, he and his four brothers were *libraires* in that city. His oldest brother Jean is the first Lutheran proselyte known to us in Lyons. The Vaugris brothers were nephews and factors for Jean Schableer *dit* Wattenschnee, a sympathizer with the new ideas who had moved to Basle, and were also related to Conrad Roesch, for whom Jean Frellon later worked. In 1523, Jean Vaugris left his brothers and went into business with his uncle Jean Wattenschnee at Basle.[169] The latter knew Holbein, who designed a mark for him in 1525, and also Holbein's engraver Hans Lützelburger, of whom he was a creditor in 1526.[170] Jean Vaugris died the following year during one of his frequent trips into France to sell evangelical literature, and his brother Vincent moved to Basle to liquidate Jean's affairs. It was here that his original appreciation of Holbein's designs must have been aroused and the plan germinated for the edition that he published after his establishment in Venice.[171]

Frellon's Italian edition used the translations made by his competitor. The verses follow the French of Corrozet rather than the Latin of Oemler; but again the monk comes off badly, being described as "standing in the shadow of ignorance" and "possessed by the habit of cheating".[172] The essays also follow those in the French edition, although the "due orationi", not present there, are here translated from the Latin. The *Simolachri, Historie, e Figure de la Morte* is found on the Tridentine Index, as might be expected.[173] In the 1560s, there was a sizable group of Italian Protestants in Lyons.[174] Was Frellon's 1549 edition directed at the Italians settled in Lyons—the

167 *Simolachri, Historie, e Figure de la Morte,* A 2^{r}–A 2^{v}.

168 Francis Douce, *The Dance of Death* (London, 1833), p. 111.

169 On the Vaugris family, cf. *Bibliographie lyonnaise,* x, 457 ff.

170 *Ibid.,* 455; Edouard His, *op. cit.* (above, note 31), p. 485.

171 Both the Trechsel and the Frellon brothers knew Servetus. To add to the coincidences, Vincent Vaugris also had some contact with him, as he published the second edition of Servetus' *Syroporum universa ratio* in Venice, 1545 (Baudrier, 44).

172 *Simolachri, Historie, e Figure de la Morte,* B 6^{r}: "Dal forfantar tenuti per usanza."

173 *Index Librorum Prohibitorum,* p. 49.

174 See Henri Meylan, "Bèze et les Italiens de Lyon", *Mélanges Augustin Renaudet, Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance,* XIV (1952), 234–49.

bankers, merchants, and those involved in the new silk industry—as well as toward Italy itself?

IV

Within a few years, three different works on the dance of death were printed at Lyons: the traditional *Danse Macabre* and Catholic and Protestant editions of Holbein's *Pictures of Death*. All three works underlined the inevitability of death for everyone; all had a religious motivation. All three were popular, but they represent different ways of viewing death and religion and must have appealed to different groups.

The stark woodcuts, the poems and essays of the *Danse Macabre* evoke the struggles in the soul of the medieval Christian. As the art of Holbein belongs more appropriately to the sixteenth century, so do the essays of Vauzelles and the anonymous Protestant essays. Behind the Catholic edition is revealed a segment of the Catholic population of Lyons: two tolerant Catholic printers, less interested in religion than in business and fine books; a Catholic cleric from a prominent bourgeois family, touched by the Renaissance and by some of the ideas of Erasmian Christianity. Behind the Protestant editions stands the Protestant movement of Lyons. Despite its feebleness at the time, it can sustain a man like the printer Jean Frellon who, using caution and moderation, brings out a work on a popular theme containing Protestant propaganda.

To Vauzelles and Frellon, Holbein's pictures signified different things; therefore they gave them different frameworks. These had different impacts on the readers, as is evidenced by the Catholic authorities' condemning only the Protestant editions of the *Pictures of Death*.

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The Scale of Man

THE PRESENT STUDY extends a series of articles dealing with the history of the doctrine of Nature and Genius.[1] From Greek times on the doctrine was illustrated—often allegorically—in literature and other arts, and manifested various phases of culture.

I

In the Detroit Institute of Arts hangs a magnificent sixteenth-century Flemish tapestry labeled "Hilly Landscape". It has been provisionally described by Mrs. Ardèle Coulin Weibel, Curator Emeritus of Textiles and Islamic Art. The accompanying plate describes it as a landscape with staffage by Franz Geubels, Brussels. It is dated about 1560.[2]

The main scene, which is framed by a border, is more than a landscape. In the foreground lies an area of undergrowth including bracken, blackberry brambles, clover, and other plants, as well as decaying remnants of former vegetation. Among the occupants are a majestic stag, a spotted lizard, a sitting lion with recumbent mate and whelps, a brace of game-birds, a reptile long of tail. Beyond this low wildwood extends a fenced formal garden at the gate of which a man and a woman in quasi-Roman costume address each other. The garden reaches a pool or moat on the partly mirror-like surface of which float swans. The water is refreshed by a sculptured fountain set in the end of a pavilion of the main building. From the roof rise an obelisk and a tower, the latter suggestive of a church. Upon terraces and slopes farther off repose a castle and other buildings. Finally the scene withdraws amid a dim haze.

To the right of the garden feed cattle and sheep, attended by a couple who at the moment are more interested in themselves than in pastoral care. By a boxed tree a few steps away a bagpiper plays to a dancing dog. Farther on several people hasten from a park-forest mainly of oaks, and a deer leaps sportively among the trees. Along

1 "The Goddess Nature in Early Periods", *JEGP,* XIX (1920), 224 ff.; "Nature in Old French", *MP,* XX (1923), 309 ff.; "Nature in Early Italian", *MLN,* XXXVI (1921), 329 ff.; "Nature in Early German", *JEGP,* XXIV (1925), 409 ff.; "Nature in Middle English", *JEGP,* XX (1921), 186 ff.; "Spenser and Nature", *JEGP,* XXXIV (1935), 366 ff.; "Nature and Shakespeare", *PMLA,* LI (1936), 719 ff.; "The Allegorical Figure Genius", *Class. Philol.,* XV (1920), 380 ff. and *MLN,* XXXIX (1924), 89 ff.; "The Genii of Spenser", *SP,* XXV (1928), 439 ff. (with plate of a mille-fleurs tapestry). Cf. also "Notes on Early Allegory", *JEGP,* XXIX (1930), 159 ff.

2 "Tapestries by Franz and Jacob Geubels", *Bulletin* of the Detroit Institute of Arts, XXVII (1947), 6–10.

the route stands another structure with tower, and more persons talk or eye placidly the comparative activity of the rest. To the left of the garden an alert unicorn gazes toward a stream where a deer appears to drink not far from a spot where another unicorn (?) rests. Beyond rises an obelisk by which hastens an elderly man. Two people chat at the entrance of a pergola or arbor. Farther on, other buildings suggest a lay-out as extensive as the famous villa of Hadrian near Tivoli.

The border about the central scene alternates on the one hand between conversation pieces—Jupiter and Juno with her peacock; Vulcan, Venus, and Cupid; Mars and Fama (at both top and bottom); Peace counterpoised against War—and on the other hand between eight scenes with Latin inscriptions, scenes framed by herms and representative of the animal kingdom amid a background of vegetation fertile in flower and fruit—a peacock, a basilisk and a serpent, a leopard looking up sharply from an empty dish, a hawk perched on a tortoise, a crayfish staring at a shellfish, an ibis inspecting itself, a she-goat yielding milk into a pail, a fox which has caught a bird.

The tapestry as a whole provides the viewer with pleasure and instruction. Its philosophy follows the line of a quasi-Platonic tradition accepted as largely consistent with humanistic Christian thought.

The tradition behind it may be outlined as follows:

> A long while ago existed a physical chaos, or a wildwood, which appeared reducible to a sort of order though it retained traces of a former state. The divine regulator proceeded according to certain principles, or laws, and acted somewhat through the agency of man. By the nature given him man could rise by three capacities: learning out of personal experience; discernment of the principles pervading nature (animate and inanimate); and operating with his hands and other physical and mental endowments. Man did not have to accept ignorance. To preserve his own existence he had to work. At times he could do more than devise means for a bare living. He could improve upon his tools and technique. He could convert the wild vegetable kingdom into orchards, gardens, shelter, and clothing. He could enter into semi-social relations with wild creatures and domesticate them. He did not drop the earlier pursuit of hunting. He discerned human traits in the animals about him, both wild and tame, traits that were laudable or dangerous in man and beast. He could create beyond sheer necessity, and thus cooperated with nature in producing art. Having free will, he could do right or wrong. He could form a society.

If we look now at the tapestry, its main scene, we note an old *hyle,* sheltering noble as well as humble creatures. The stag and the man-faced lion have simple dignity. A step farther, and we find domestic

Detroit Institute of Arts

animals and a bagpiper with a dancing dog—elements of a moderate, semi-pastoral life, a community of human beings and wild life suggestive of the kind of existence in the Forest of Arden. The garden, the pool and swans, the pavilion, the arbor in which people linger outdoors are further evidence of what man may accomplish, what taste he had for peaceful values. The representative figures are not idle. Some converse socially, or stand contemplatively observant, or bustle on errands. The purity of such a natural scene—a scene harmonizing wild and cultured elements—is emphasized by the splendid unicorn among the trees. That this "palace of plaisance" is not an isolated retreat is indicated by the buildings and castles farther away. We have a sense that a community, aware of itself as such, would make a concord of wild and cultivated, simple and grand.

II

From this general conception of the main scene we turn to the border, which emphasizes ethics. Apart from adornment of flowers, fruit, sculpture, it may be divided into deities and emblems. The balance or symmetry evident in the handling of the deities suggests a similar correlation among the inscriptions. These elements of the border presumably heighten understanding of the central scene.

First as to the deities, the divine or celestial side of life. Both top and bottom give Fama with two horns—one for good report, the other for bad, and Mars at rest, holding a pennon in his left hand, a sword in his right. In the lower corners repose two family groups: on the right the ruler Jupiter and Juno with her peacock; on the left by a tree in which perch billing doves, Vulcan, mattock over shoulder, about to depart for work from a somewhat reluctant Venus and open-eyed Cupid. On the right side above, Peace is poised, palm-leaf in hand; on the left, War grasps a sword. These deities reflect the two-sided character of life. In *natura,* in the nature of things, the ultimate goal, the temporary goal whenever possible, is peace. But not peace without labor. For general security and welfare peace must be attained and defended. The humble lot of family and labor must continue. On an upper level the rulers, still supporting the dignity of the family, have grave responsibility, power, and majesty enhanced by appropriate trappings. According to the conduct of high office, reputation will be fair or ill. Action must be rational; when reason by itself fails, authority has to exercise power on a great scale in order to enforce the dictates of reason. Consequently, in sum, these types embody a theory of the state, an ideal of equilibrium is set up.

The divine outline can be further illustrated and made specific. Guidance can be provided toward the due behavior of all persons with their several talents and functions. At the same time there must be reminders of principles basic in the nature of things. Thus we come to the emblems in the border. These consist of inscriptions and accompanying scenes or figures. They may seem earthly rather than heavenly, but they express eternal truths as discerned by human reason and experience. Many of the more or less contemporary emblem books, it may be remarked, were composed by distinguished scholars and diplomats not merely for the sake of entertainment or for ironical or Juvenalian comments on aspects of life at court. They took in a larger scope by providing a philosophical education and admonition to people of responsibility.

Beginning with the lower right corner and moving counter-clockwise round the border, the Latin inscriptions read as follows:

1. INGENIO NATVRA SVO	Ibis
2. ASTV SOLE[R]TIA MAIOR	Crayfish and mollusk
3. NICHIL IN VIM	Hawk and tortoise
4. DECIPIOR VMBRA	Leopard
5. HEC META LABORVM	Basilisk
6. NON INFINI[T]A PLACENT	Peacock
7. SVA ET ALIENA VI[N]CITVB [=VINCITVR] OPE	Fox and bird
8. IN DESCISCENTES	She-goat

It seems best to begin with the fundamental principle of nature and then to develop the ramifications. The order of the emblems is changed from that of the table so as to clarify the discussion, but each emblem is given the number above.

1. *Ingenio natura suo*:[4] "nature by her or its own genius, capacity, character (ἦθος), innate power; being itself, acting itself". The broad principle had often unfolded as "sequere N(n)aturam", familiar as Stoic and Pauline morality and as a theory of art, but sometimes defined by other formulas of moderation and the like. It can embrace other mottoes in the tapestry, as will appear.

An illustration is afforded by another Flemish tapestry at the Detroit Institute of Arts. This has been carefully defined by A. S. Cavallo[5] and dated from its style about 1510. In the first place, the theme of "The Procession of Gula" is a condemnation of the vice or deadly sin of gluttony, particularly in the form of drunkenness and

[4] The phrase occurs in Ovid, *Met.* III, 158. Cf. *Ingegno*, in Cesare Ripa, *Iconologia* (Padova, 1618; enlarged edition, Venetia, 1645; first edition in Italian, Rome, 1593, without illustrations; 3d ed. in French, *Iconologie*, Paris, 1644).

[5] *Bulletin*, XXXII (1952–3), 86–9.

its associated evils. The human beings (characters from the Bible and ancient history) represent in a sense the saved and the damned. Two angels support the virtuous—Castitas and Natura.[6] But Bacchus and Gula would lure other people in the opposite direction. Lady Gula holds aloft a tankard, but Thetis juxtaposes to it an amethystine shell, the charm of which would counteract the intoxicant.

Two inscriptions in elegiac Latin declare aphoristically that a discriminating Natura, content with meagre repast, shudders at Gula, who beclouds the clear or shining *ingenium,* the true character of the person, excites raging lusts, and shortens life. The doctrine of Nature —of divine origin—holds for temperance. Intemperance debases the body and obscures the soul. It is a universal, or natural, law for everybody to keep his own nature clear.

To return to the emblem: the self-inspection of the (Egyptian) ibis accompanying "Ingenio natura suo" differs somewhat from the corresponding emblem in Alciati (LXXXIX).[7] His motto, though appropriate, lacks the scope and tone of that in the tapestry, for "In sordidos" is an injunction against the unclean of body and mind as failing in due self-respect, or even befouling the nest.

In Cesare Ripa's *Iconologia*[8] occurs a sidelight. The crane (*grue*) with one foot uplifted holding a stone under the topic "Vigilanza" signifies "Watchfulness over self and one's way of life and responsibility". When the body is asleep, the heart is awake. In the great tapestries of the virtue Prudence at Biltmore and in the de Young Museum, she is flanked by two such cranes.

A phase of the principle of knowing oneself and behaving accord-

[6] Natura occurs in other tapestries. Cf. the Brussels tapestry of 1515, "Redemption", of the great set of four in the M. H. de Young Museum. In one scene Natura is associated with Labor, in another with Justitia. Cf. further G. L. Hunter, *The Practical Book of Tapestries* (Philadelphia, 1925), pp. 29, 33, "Baptism", Plate IV, j; p. 37, "L'Un et l'Autre" and "Redemption", Design B (these by the sixteenth century); W. G. Thomson, *A History of Tapestry from the Earliest Times to the Present Day* (London, 1930), pp. 139–40, inventory of Henry V (tapestry lost); p. 168, "Seven Deadly Sins" (ca. 1475); p. 169 (ca. 1430); pp. 217–18, "King Modus (Moderation) and Queen Ratio (Reason)" (sixteenth century)—*Natura rerum.* Phyllis Ackerman, *Tapestry the Mirror of Civilization* (New York, 1933), pp. 120 ff., "Triumph of Fame" in a series of nine in the Spanish State collection (cf. Heinrich Göbel, *Wandteppiche,* 2 vols., Leipzig, 1923, 1928): figures of Physis, that is, Natura, and Natural Nobility (probably connected with the twelfth-century *Anticlaudianus* of Alan of Lille, editions of which were published in the sixteenth century); p. 361 (cf. pp. 99, 124), set, "Hunt of the Mortal Deer", a pursuit of man by Nature (not wicked or fundamentally hostile), Ignorance, Vanity, Necessity.

[7] Editions of his *Emblemata* consulted: Paris, 1536, 1540, 1542; Venice, 1545 (6); Lyon, 1551, 1564 (Italian), 1564 (French), 1573, 1574, 1614; Antwerp, 1584, 1587, 1715; Padua, [1618], 1621, 1661; Lyon (Spanish verses), 1540. The later ones were enlarged or further moralized with commentary. The facsimile editions by Henry Green (Manchester, 1870), *Emblematum fontes quatuor,* employed basically Augsburg, 1531; Paris, 1534; Venice, 1546; Milan, 1522; the first in Italian, Rome, 1593, without illustrations.

[8] *Op. cit.*

ingly, of making the noblest uses of one's talents, is specifically illustrated by the adjacent bottom emblem to the left (No. 8). A she-goat standing over a milk pail is accompanied by "In desciscentes", in both the tapestry and Alciati. Disapproval is expressed of those persons who ruin their own talents or good offices as the goat does—capriciously—by kicking over the pail of milk. In the tapestry—no witness visible—the goat has raised its foot recalcitrantly. Anybody familiar with milking the creature knows what to expect. In editions of Alciati, a human figure, man or woman, is usually close at hand, striking an attitude of dismay. In one example, an unheeding herdsman is tending a flock at a distance. In another, a possible wayfarer is deprived of his provisional sustenance.[9] The positive principle urges that nobody has a right to disregard himself and others, to waste his own resources with which he has been divinely endowed. A person should seek genuine knowledge of self and behave in accordance with higher values.

Another application of the doctrine of *natura* and *ingenium* appears on the lower right side of the tapestry (No. 2). A crayfish staring at a bivalve shellfish exemplifies the inscription "Astu solertia major".[10] This means that "a strong personal quality, or individual art, is greater than cunning"; that is, action derived from intelligent reflections based on individual strength, insight, and experience is superior to a temporary device, trick or expedient (often taught by others). An innate or inherent characteristic can serve well. The adage further defines the function of self-reliance parallel to nature operating on its own.[11] The conception here is based on the taste of the crayfish for the flesh of the shellfish. But like him, oysters and other mollusks have protective armor. He must therefore either restrain his appetite or else analyze the situation, study the motives of his prey, rely on his own native sagacity in order to secure the delicacy. He may, however, fall a victim himself, have the tables turned on him, and be caught by the other's devices. The point of this scene is that the *sollertia*—the hard shell—of the proposed diet may be more

[9] Geffrey Whitney employed this emblem in *A Choice of Emblems* (Leyden, 1586), p. 189.

[10] Cf. Cicero, *N.D.*, 1.33.92: "nulla ars imitari sollertiam naturae potest"; elsewhere *ingenio solertia.* Ovid is apt to contrast *solertia, ingenio, astu;* cf. *Met.* IV, 776–7; VI, 575; VII, 419; XIII, 37, 136, 148, 193, 327, 362. A celebrated woodcut of Albrecht Dürer's (*The Complete Woodcuts,* ed. Willi Kurth, London, 1927) presents the Emperor Maximilian's "Great Triumphal Car". Among some twenty-two virtues, two guide the leading team of horses: Experientia (a man) and Solertia (a woman). The contrast suggests that intuition or insight is an important factor in guidance, and may be tested by practice. In Ripa, *Astutia ingannevole,* deemed to be an animal trait, is viewed unfavorably by Aesop and St. Thomas.

[11] Cf. Joachim Camerarius (1500–1574), *Symbolum ac Emblematum ethic. polit. centuriae IV* (Moguntiae, 1697), Fourth Century, LI–LVII, gives crabs and crayfish in general; LII, much the same picture, with "Decipiens capitur".

than enough to baffle the *astus* of the assailant. If the *sollertia* of the crustacean is his protective armor, he is confronted by the same sort of *sollertia* in his smaller opposite, and may thus be brought to a standstill.[12] The mollusk's defence may act as a sufficient deterrent.

The corresponding lower left emblem (No. 7) provides another match of the strength between opponents who may have the same special talent or *sollertia*. It depicts a fox which has caught a bird. Another bird is in flight, and a reptile or toadlike creature is witness. The inscription is "Sua et aliena vincitur ope", that is, "One is overcome by his own and another's resources". If the bird is a cock, then the probability is that we have something like the situation which Chaucer dealt with in the *Nun's Priest's Tale*. The bird in flight may be either Pertelote or an envisagement of the cock's ultimate escape through outwitting the fox.[13] As La Fontaine remarked of a parallel evasion of a fox by an old cock, "C'est double plaisir de tromper le trompeur".

To turn to the upper right side (No. 3), a hawk perched on a tortoise suggests that swiftness and power should be tempered with deliberation. Human exercise of high power for its own sake is reprovable: "Nihil in vim!" Man should not act solely with a view to power or its display, asserting that his will should avouch it. Rationally force should be reserved to the last resort.

In Camerarius (Third Cent., xxxiii) the picture is of an *accipiter,* or hawk, moving on a *testudo,* or tortoise, through a landscape:

> Et tardus nimis et praeceps nimis esse caveto:
> Ille sapit medium qui inter utrumque tenet.

The wise man holds his way between being too slow or too hasty, or headlong. In the Second Century, the tortoise is a symbol of persistence and assiduity as well as slowness. A balance of the qualities is better than one alone, even for great affairs, the business of princes and great men. They need to be cautioned against being *insolentiores.* Truly speaking, power and glory are attributes of divinity, and man for the time being at least possesses them in stewardship.

This emphasis on *vis,* yet with qualification of its exercise, may

[12] Cf. an opposing adage, "Astus *solertia* major" (Camerarius, Second Cent., lxxiv, applicable variously to fox, wolf, crane, grackle, and a loaded mule crossing a stream; corollary adages: *"Astu* deluditur *astus"* and "Fraudem sapientia pellit"). Cf. also comments on "Nihil in vim" (hawk and tortoise) below.

[13] Professor John Heller has suggested that we have a fable derivable from the *Aesopica,* and so traceable as far back as Ademar (twelfth century). There is even an illustrated manuscript version of the Perdix et Vulpis (G. Thiele, *Der illustrierte Aesop in der Handschrift des Ademar,* Leiden, 1905, tab. ix and p. 50). Cf. also *Phaedrus Solutus,* ed. Carolus Zander (Lund, 1921).

be considered in wider perspective. The word among the ancients even brought under its scope the larger force of Nature, an inherent power in the nature of things as well as in its component members. It occurs frequently in Cicero's philosophical writings to express a concept as to the basis of living creatures. In such Renaissance works as we have been dealing with, it is associated with the cardinal virtue *Fortitudo* or with the French *la Force*.

Another limitation on the exercise of a virtue or talent occurs in the upper left side of the tapestry (No. 6). Whereas the peacock is appropriate to the caerulean splendor of Juno among the divinities of the border, here it should resign itself to casting aside a mirror, forsaking vanity, and not yielding to a weakness for display and other effects of pride. It should employ the mirror only to know itself better, to define limitations. "Non infinita placent", or things unbounded do not please the power(s) above.[14]

The same principle of limits is given another turn in the top left of the border (No. 5). Here a basilisk struggles with a serpent (in Pliny, VIII, 33, a weasel), which is out of sight beyond the former's back. A cord (extended between two herms) and partly closed drapery signify some degree of confinement in one's efforts. One should recognize the moment when it is necessary to say, "Hec meta laborum". Death lies on the other side if one does not make clear to oneself the turning point in activity. In a monstrous or inhuman form malevolent forces exist beyond. Man himself may become monstrous and destructive of others and himself. In Camerarius (Fourth Cent., LXXIX, "Noxa nocenti") a basilisk kills itself by looking in a mirror. "Poena sibi improbitas", or wickedness provides its own punishment.

If the injunction to self-knowledge and consequent self-control derives from prudence, the individual must look all round the subject, make a complete circuit of possibilities. Even if he looks in a mirror, he may err as did the leopard on the top right of the border (No. 4). The animal, though traditionally acute of vision, looks up startled from a shining metal disk. He has been deceived by an image within. A man or a ruler should face reality and not mistake appearance for true substance, lest he have to acknowledge, "Decipior umbra", as did La Fontaine's dog who dropped his prey for a shadow. Camerarius (Second Century, XXXVI) gives a picture of a maned, spotted animal with a lion's tail for "Fallit imago sui" (his own image deceives). It is taken by hunters who had rolled a glass ball toward it.

[14] Professor Erwin Panofsky has suggested an ultimate reference to Aristotle, *Eth. Nicom.*, II, 6 (1106 b): evil belongs to the class of the unlimited, as the Pythagoreans conjectured, whereas virtue is a mean between extremes.

Thus the emblems exemplify a doctrine based on great Nature and the nature of man and of the individual. No matter what his station, man's function is to work, responsible to himself, for a proper relationship with what exists outside him in the nature of things. He must have a clear-cut view of himself and his personal limitations. Further limitations he must place on himself. He must become aware of the virtues of temperance, prudence, fortitude, and justice as inherent in Nature.

III

The tapestry appears to take a step farther in reflecting life. Here and there may be discerned subtle details which belong to the hieroglyphic mode of thought at the time. Thus in the lower inner corners of the frame, or border, and in one outer corner, the face of a jester appears—in different moods. If he is a court figure, he intimates a different type of humor from that in several of the somewhat satirical emblems. The herms vary: some may be portraits, one set has muffled ears, another set has feathered head-dress hinting at the New World or the Orient. In addition, each of the divine figures seems to have about costume or person or close by, a face or figures on a smaller scale. A few may be deemed to be but designs on the shoulder-armor of a warrior. Several are brutish or sardonic masks. One, however, suggests an invalided soldier, his eyes half-bandaged, not too distant from Peace. Below and to the left of the lower Fama crouches a woman above a low slab. Her child, cheek to cheek, clasps her about the neck. There is also the face of a bearded man. On mats in the same position to the upper Fama's left is a group too obscure for my eyes. The tone of these last examples reminds the observer that war with its glory nevertheless leaves in days of peace painful and weary hours for those who survive. In the era of victory the human rulers can hardly rest at ease, feeling no sorrow for the victims.

IV

If the border is closely connected with the central scene, it might be expected that the deities in the former would be linked with the sculpture of the latter. Most of the statutes or sculptural groups are somewhat obscure, perhaps were intended to be. But the group ensconced in the front of the castle is relatively plain: Venus and Cupid. She here has taken a stately stand in accordance with the noble, not the ignoble, conception of her nature. From her breasts spring streams of water, falling into the basin where float the swans. Up to her looks a clear-eyed, winged boy equipped with quiver, bow, and

arrow—thus the noble conception of Cupid. It may be explained that at times Venus represents Natura or one of her principal functions, as apparently she does now. In Ripa Nature is represented as a nude goddess, her breasts dripping milk as if ready to nurse.

Another sort of linkage might be the handling of the vegetable and animal kingdoms and their relationship to man. If the whole tapestry has a broad scope to offer typical or representative detail, it would be appropriate to have the border and central scene supplement each other. Sample vegetables and fruit (as well as some flowers and portions of vines) could indicate in the border the existence of practical gardens and orchards, and thus leave to the main picture wildwood, formal landscape, and architecture.

This may be shown by a tentative analysis of the vegetation:[15]

Oak	*Quercus robor*	
Beech?	*Fagus silvatica*	
Cypress (distant)	*Cupressus*	evergreen, funereal
Elm (distant)	*Ulmus*	
Box	*Buxus sempervirens*[16]	
Blackberry	*Rubus fruticosus*	bramble; multitudinous; medicinal
Anemone	*Anemone nemorosa*[17]	windflower; white and pink; the fleeting hour
Sweet woodruff	*Asperula odorata*	perfume, seasoning; *Maiwein*
Arrowhead	*Sagittaria*	
Ivy	*Hedera helix*	often with ferns
Clover	*Trifolium pratense*	
Whortleberry	*Vaccinium myrtilus*	
Mistletoe	*Viscum album*	white berries; Druid tradition; parasite (some say instead, a saprophyte)
Fescue-grass	*Festuca*	good for forage of sheep
Moss		
Ferns		

Rose, lily, orange, pomegranate, peach, plum, cherry, apple, quince, fig, holly, grape, medlar, hazel, onion, pea, bean, gourd, turnip

[15] Cf. E. J. Alexander and C. H. Woodward, *The Flora of the Unicorn Tapestries* (New York, 1947 [1950]); E. C. Marquand, "Plant Symbolism in the Unicorn Tapestries", *Parnassus* (October 1938), pp. 3 ff.

[16] In Alciati CCVIII (1661), *Buxus* is an evergreen fit for lovers.

[17] In Camerarius, First Century, LXIX, "Brevis est usus". Wind shatters the fragile flower, which the verses consider symbolical of the fleeting nature of life. Reference is made to the flowers of Adonis and Ovid, *Met.*, x. Pliny is cited, XXX, CCVIIII, and a corollary is expressed in "Gloria vento discutitur".

Thus the vegetable kingdom seems to be fairly represented. A study of the contemporary books on flora, admirable herbals with their well-drawn plates, tends to show that the designers of the tapestry selected vegetation in a scale[18] leading up to the robust oak. The growth harbors animals of different sorts, and suggests, faintly perhaps, a sense of plant ecology. On the lower rung may be placed the moss. Then non-flowering plant-life, the fern, especially the bracken and spleenwort (if my approximate identification is close enough). At the time the sex of ferns—because of the lack of flowers—still baffled. What we regard as two different species were known as male fern and female fern, bracken as the female (*filix foemina*) and osmunda royal as masculine (*filix mas*).[19] Grass for food would be a next step—a flowering group not raised especially for its florescence. Then the obvious flowers such as the spiritual anemone sometimes associated with immortality, and elusive as Hadrian's *animula.* Vines vary the ascent: ivy with its need of support and yet encouragement of uplift of spirit; and the shrubby blackberry with its thorny protection, said to be abhorred by the devil. Box (or a tree-like shrub like it) submits to taming into somewhat permanent shapes for hedges and arbors of shade. Finally the tall, stalwart oaks, themselves susceptible in the end to decay and destruction.

The animal kingdom again seems representative: the creeping and well-toothed "crocodile," the swift-running lizard, perhaps changing color, living on air and by report able to survive fire; the game-birds; the stag, sometimes symbolizing the need of restraint of speed, or solitude and purity of life, or a soul thirsting for immortality; and the lion, both with their human traits of courage, nobility, and responsibility.[20] These qualities are emphasized by the human heads—still an artistic device to indicate that man recognized his own merits as present in the lower creatures. There is even a spotted skulker behind the stag, suggesting awareness of baser traits in human nature.

A unicorn stands alert in the wood to the left of the garden.[21]

[18] The conception of a scale for plants and animals is found in Aristotle's *Historia Animalium,* VIII, 1 (588).

[19] The lady fern common in parts of Europe and America is a different species, known now as *Asplenium* (earlier *Polypodium*) *filix-foemina.* Its name links it with Our Lady, as in *Lady Chapel. Dryopteris* (earlier *Polypodium* and *Aspidium*) *filix-mas* is a male fern. The oak fern (*Phegopteris Dryopteris,* formerly *Polypodium Dryopteris*) has a frond which suggests that of bracken. Brake, or bracken, is now named *Pteris aquilina* (eagle's wing), and is sometimes called lady brake. Fuchs in his *Herbarium* (ed. 1599) gives *Engelfus* as the common, or German, name of *Polypodium.*

[20] Cf. Aristotle, *Hist. Anim.,* I, 1 (486 f.) for scale and domestication; for traits of character, I, 1 (488 a, b).

[21] Cf. besides Odell Shepard, *The Lore of the Unicorn* (Boston, 1930), W. F. Dove, "Artificial Production of the Fabulous Unicorn—A Modern Interpretation of an Ancient Myth", *Scientific Monthly,* XLII (1936), 431–6.

Apart from its beauty it is associated with strength, purity, and purification. The animal dipping its head toward the stream may symbolize the safety bestowed by the influence of the unicorn, and thus emphasize a spiritual element in the idyllic landscape and general design.

As to birds, besides those mentioned before, an owl is perched in an oak, on the upper left. Another bird has mounted one of the balls supporting the lower obelisk. One to three others sit, semi-tame, on the hedge of the arbor near a conversing couple. It is possible that two bays hold suspended two birdcages of osier. The small figure which stands between the boxed tree and the bagpiper appears to be a tame hooded crow.

On the right besides wild deer browse domesticated animals so that man in his development no longer needed to depend upon hunting. As he could have gardens, he could train a dog to share his delight in the aesthetic arts of music and dancing. He could mould a formal garden for pleasure of eye and shelter from sun. He could bridge and harness water for a fountain and a pool for swans. He could build homes, castles, and towered cities, places for a free social intercourse, not removed from enterprise and responsibility.

Indeed a word or two about the phases of architecture would fit. In addition to the central group of buildings, somewhat extensive structures with towers, terraces, and formal gardens stretch farther off to the left. The sun lights up the buildings fairly well, and causes reflections in water, perhaps canals. Behind a cottage rises a facade that recalls Venetian palazzi, or even Bruges. To their right two houses have the corbie-steps still familiar in the Low Countries. Then to the left of the upper obelisk: a seeming church with flying buttresses and a central tower with belfry and clock; a house; a building which is possibly a modernization of a *château fort;* a curtain or bridge; a building with conical cap, machicolations, and *chemin de ronde;* a group of buildings reminiscent of the Vienne view of the array of castle ruins, including the Horloge tower, at Chinon.

As to the main building (omitting some details): barrel roof as base for an obelisk topped by a ball and possibly a weathercock, symbol of the resurrection; to the rear, the main tower with two belfries, the upper with chimères or gargoyles, and on its roof a loggia or pergola with conical shrubs; rising from the loggia, a pyramid with an opening for a bell, higher still a louvre, and at the top a ball and a figure like a putto pointing upward.

Thus far the somewhat fantastic structure corresponds so closely

with one of Vriedeman de Vries' *Views* (1561) that there must be a relationship between the tapestry and the architect. The setting is, however, changed from town to country. In another view there is a similar putto, topping a fountain.

Over the doorway at the bottom of the main building where a person stands, there is a sculptured animal with a shield as if on guard. A connecting passage thence leads back to a building on the right, and more people. This second building has a square tower with pyramidal top, bell, and pointed shaft.

The two obelisks in part resume Aegypto-Roman interest in commemoration and immortality. Early instances of such interest are given by the woodcut plates of the influential *Hypnerotomachia Polifili.* Obelisks harking back to the Mausoleum of Halicarnassus had become a practice by the middle of the sixteenth century.

The complex of the architecture appears to survey somewhat the past history of the art, the survival and even the revival of older forms, a recognition of the distant Egyptian inheritance, and an emphasis on current practice. The presence of two obelisks lays stress on both a historic reality and a symbolism which expresses a need to believe in immortality whether of fame or of soul—a strong theme in the border.

V

The allegorical allusiveness of the Detroit tapestry raises another problem. Mrs. Weibel declares, "Clearly this beautiful tapestry represents the *hortus conclusus,* but the Renaissance has changed its medieval allegorical character into sheer magnificent decoration".[22] Technically one might demur since the *hortus conclusus,* derived from the *Song of Songs* (iv. 12), had been expanded allegorically as prefiguring virginity, purity, especially the Virgin Mary, who was a summa of virtues. This conception, as is well known, is embodied in tapestry. A corollary conception dealt with the unicorn and virginity, likewise well known in tapestry.

If Mrs. Weibel's opinion is her way of emphasizing the importance of the Detroit tapestry, and implies that it is a secular summa parallel to the basic or religious *hortus conclusus,* the idea may be acceptable. Such parallels between reason and faith occurred in literature and art from the time of Boethius' *Consolation of Philosophy* to Rabelais' Abbey of Thélème and Spenser's *Fowre Hymnes* and other works.

[22] *Op. cit.,* p. 9.

VI

In conclusion it would appear that the tapestry in Detroit is a compendium of art and principles, a summa of thought expressed selectively through a symbolical medium of art. The fundamental philosophy is a restatement of the doctrine of Nature applicable to the outer world, or macrocosmos, and to man, the microcosmos, with his *ingenium*. The main principle is "to follow nature". The specific injunctions—purity and self-respect, knowing oneself, steering a middle course between extremes, avoiding excess, facing facts and responsibilities—are distinctly brought to mind. Persons of high station must achieve a balanced peace with its ensuing security of home, its abundance, its progress in the arts of living, as a part of the divine or eternal order. Ultimately they should have faith in immortality.

The tapestry does not lapse into sentimentality. The emblems of the border introduce a crisp, sometimes ironical sternness into the softly-colored texture of the whole, and convert it into a sort of *comédie humaine*. But in general the work is, figuratively, an emblem book of grandeur. Like a book it does not have the physical scale of architecture. Nevertheless it is a complex, labyrinthine edifice, a counterpart of a cathedral with many chapels or of a poetic masterpiece such as the *Faerie Queene*. Its fervor is noble. Much thought and sincerity went into it from a circle of society of which Franz Geubels was a member and of which at present we know too little. Some lesser details, it is true, remain to be solved. But enough is clear. It came at a height of the great art of tapestry, and is still worth a king's ransom.[23]

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[23] I should like to express gratitude for the courtesies which I have received from the libraries and staffs of the Universities of Minnesota, Wisconsin, and Chicago, Wisconsin State College at La Crosse, Art Institute of Chicago, Newberry Library, John Crerar Library, Minneapolis Institute of Arts, Philadelphia Museum of Art, Carnegie Institute of Technology, Cincinnati Art Museum, City Art Museum of St. Louis, Boston Museum of Fine Arts, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection of Harvard University, the Biltmore Estate, the de Young Museum. I owe much to friends and colleagues. In addition I am indebted to Mrs. Weibel and to Mr. Francis W. Robinson, Curator of Medieval and Renaissance Art, of the Detroit Institute of Arts, and to Professor William S. Heckscher of the State University of Iowa. None is responsible for what I have said.

Lipsius and the Art of Letter-Writing

"The whole history of the 'epistle,' as a literary *genre,* is full of interest and invites investigation."—W. Rhys Roberts.

One of Professor Morris Croll's earliest essays on prose style was an article on Justus Lipsius, the sixteenth-century Belgian scholar and rhetorician whose name has become identified with the "anti-Ciceronian" school of prose. Croll later studied him as the leader of a triumvirate (Lipsius, Montaigne, and Bacon), and thus clarified somewhat the relationship of English prose style to continental experiments.[1] The indebtedness of certain English writers, like John Hoskyns and Ben Jonson, to the epistolary theory of Lipsius is now well known,[2] but the precise role played by his *Epistolica institutio* in literary history has never been clearly presented. Because Professor Croll's interests were centered in prose rhythm, he analyzed the *Institutio* only for the light it shed upon the development of "Attic" prose structure in the Renaissance. Such passages as he singled out are interesting, but the import of the treatise as a whole seems to me considerably different from Croll's judgment of it, especially if it is studied as an *institutio.*

I see in the work an effort to define the letter as a literary *genre* and to determine upon a prose style fitting to it. Professor Croll recognized that the problem of epistolary style is one phase of the broader theoretical and historical problem of Atticism. The ambivalence of the latter term, however, both in antiquity and in the Renaissance, makes it a difficult one to use in the theory of the letter. As a *level* of style, "Attic" was associated with the *genus humile* or plain style, and it is thus often contrasted in antiquity with the "Asiatic" floridity of sophistic and Ciceronian oratory. As a *quality* of style, on the other hand, "Attic" often referred to purity of diction—good Greek or good Latin—and was separable from connotations of simplicity or grandeur, as Cicero himself attempted to show in the *Orator.* It was thus applicable to all of the levels of style. I think that Lipsius avoided the term "Attic" as much as possible in the *Institutio,* in order to escape complication with the levels of oratorical style, for he seems to have considered his problem as the separation of the letter

[1] "Juste Lipse et le mouvement anticicéronien", *Revue du Seizième Siècle,* II (1914), 200–42; "Lipsius, Montaigne and Bacon", *Schelling Anniversary Papers* (New York, 1923), pp. 117–50.

[2] Maurice Castelain showed the Jonson-Lipsius relationship in his edition of the *Discoveries* (Paris, n.d.). See Hoyt H. Hudson's edition of the *Directions for Speech and Style* by John Hoskyns (Princeton, 1935) for the relationship of Jonson's work to Hoskyns' and the scholarship on this problem.

from the oration, a *genre* with which it had commonly been associated for centuries.

In this task Lipsius was not without precedent and guidance in both Renaissance and ancient rhetorical theory, principally in Demetrius' well-known discussion of epistolary form, but to appreciate the discrimination and the originality of his achievement, it is necessary only to compare it with Torquato Tasso's *Il segretario,* almost contemporaneous with the work of Lipsius and heavily indebted also to Demetrius. Tasso's treatise makes a less significant advance upon the old *ars dictaminis* and a less important contribution to literary theory.[3]

What is the nature of the little treatise which Lipsius designated by the term *institutio?* As the very name indicates, it is a representative of the ancient and respected literary *genre* known to the Greeks as the ἐισαγωγή (Lat., *institutio*). In constructing his treatise, Lipsius was apparently aware not only of the antiquity of the isagogic type, but also of the outstanding position occupied by one of its Latin representatives—the *Institutio oratoria* of Quintilian, whose title and design he imitated. Most of the other Renaissance treatises on the letter seem to belong to a different *genre,* descendants of the medieval Latin treatises in the *ars dictaminis.* The type of didactic literature called isagogic was restudied by Eduard Norden at the beginning of the twentieth century and discussed in an article on the structure and *genre* of Horace's *Ars poetica.*[4] In clarifying the nature of the Horatian work Norden listed and discussed the characteristic features of the isagogic type and thus provided a set of criteria for identifying any example of the *genre.* My study of Lipsius' *Institutio* in the light of Norden's list of characteristics convinces me, as I shall explain, that the little treatise belongs to the same isagogic category as the *Ars poetica.*

The ἐισαγωγή or *institutio* was not a type confined to the arts of rhetoric and poetic. It was to be found in many fields of learning such as jurisprudence, music and architecture. In isolating the conventional features which distinguish the group, Norden observed that not all of the elements are necessarily found in any one example.[5]

[3] I used the text of Tasso's *Il segretario* in *Discorsi di Torquato Tasso* (Pisa, 1823), Vol. I. To my knowledge, the *Institutio* of Lipsius has not been edited in modern times. Originally composed before June 1587, it was published from a student's copy of Lipsius' lectures; it was printed in 1591, twice at Leyden and once at Frankfurt. See *Bibliographie Lipsienne* (Gand, 1886–88), II, 7 ff. and 215 ff. for many subsequent editions, both alone and in conjunction with other works of Lipsius, from 1592 to 1715.

[4] "Die Composition und Litteraturgattung der Horazischen *Epistula ad Pisones*", *Hermes: Zeitschrift für Classische Philologie,* XL (1905), 481–528.

[5] *Ibid.,* p. 516.

Basically it was a didactic composition addressed to a young person[6] (young in studies if not in years), and presenting in a form intelligible to the uninitiated the rules of a particular art, such as rhetoric. Traditional and distinctive was the twofold division[7] of the material into *ars* and *artifex,* although the material often did not lend itself to so precise a dichotomy. Often the question and answer method was employed, but this feature was not universal.[8] Sometimes the *institutio* was cast into the form of a letter, to a son or young friend, the most famous one being, of course, the Horatian *Epistula ad Pisones* (*Ars poetica*).[9]

The most distinctive feature of this type of writing was the address to the young. The process of speaking to the youthful son or friend should, however, be understood as a conventional form of public address, for, as Norden observes,[10] Horace was addressing the whole profession of poets of the generation just reaching adulthood in his own middle life, a generation needing guidance from the sterner training and higher ideals of its predecessors in the great tradition. When we look at the *Institutio* of Lipsius we meet this convention of address to the young in a slightly camouflaged form, but it is unquestionably there. The prefatory letter to "Raphelengius"[11] uses the modest pretense of reluctance to publish the work, but after due hesitation, Lipsius expresses willingness to let the treatise be printed. The reader must be told, however, that it had been written for youthful students, without any intention of giving it to the world. Moreover, adds the reluctant author, he had been saving the ideas therein contained for a later treatise on the education of youth. Publish the little essay, he says to Raphelengius, but under this stipulation: ". . . ut omnes sciant, discentibus, non doctis; juvenibus, non adultis, haec à nobis scripta: nec umquam edendi isto fine. Nam haec talia servabamus Dialogis *De instituendâ juventute.*"[12] A confirmation of Lipsius' isagogic purpose can be found in his biography written by Aubert le Mire and included in the collected editions

[6] *Ibid.,* pp. 519 ff. The Latin word *juventus,* as *Harper's Latin Dictionary* indicates, can mean the period from the twentieth to the fortieth year. The young person addressed in an *institutio* was not a child, and might even be already, to some degree, a professional man.

[7] *Ibid.,* pp. 508 ff.

[8] *Ibid.,* pp. 517–19.

[9] *Ibid.,* p. 525.

[10] *Ibid.,* p. 527.

[11] François Ravlenghien, 1539–1597, member of the publishing concern of Christophe Plantin in Leyden.

[12] *Epistolica institutio* in *Opera omnia* (Vesaliae, 1675), II, 1066. I have given my quotations from this edition, available at the Library of Congress, but I have also consulted the 1591 and 1601 editions of the *Institutio* at the Bodleian Library in Oxford.

of the *Opera.* Le Mire refers to the *Epistolica institutio* in a phrase, *"Epistolicâ institutione* in bonum iuventutis adiuncta".[13]

That the address to the uninitiated, however, is largely a pose becomes evident in the treatise itself, especially at the end of Chapter VII, where he says explicitly that in advocating brevity for the letter he is speaking to mature writers, for the young cannot be expected to achieve this quality of style without disaster to other qualities. The paradox of the isagogic address to youth is nowhere more evident, for Lipsius places brevity first among the stylistic features of the letter, as of primary importance, only to warn his young readers not to attempt it. He says, in part: "Habes de Brevitate; quae viris mihi dicta, non juventuti, sunto. adeò enim hanc ad eam non voco, ut etiam absterream. . . ."[14]

The division of the isagogic material under *ars* and *artifex* is not, at first sight, easy to discover in this work of Lipsius. It is, after all, a very short essay and one in which the author has clearly defined his major interest as a stylistic one. Chapter VII begins with the announcement: "Venio ad Sermonem: cujus causâ, fateor, Institutio haec suscepta. . . . Sermonem appello, Elocutionem et Stili Modum Epistolae Aptum."[15] He has not set out to form the letter-writer's character, professional or moral. The absence of such a purpose clearly distinguishes his essay from Tasso's *Il segretario,* which is a conduct-book as well as a treatise on the letter, and as "courtesy literature" is worthy of comparison with the more famous *Cortegiano* of Castiglione.

Norden has made it clear, on the other hand, that the *ars-artifex* division has appeared variously in the ancient representatives of the *genre.* He analyzes[16] Quintilian's *Institutio oratoria* in accordance with the author's own statements of purpose, into 1) a propaedeutic first book; 2) the *ars,* Books II–XI; 3) the *artifex,* i.e., the orator, Book XII. This is by no means a proportionate division. Cicero used the *ars-artifex* principle in the *De partitione oratoria* and the *De oratore.* His *De inventione* was, on the other hand, devoted essentially to the *ars,* and the *Orator* to the *artifex.*[17] Lipsius clearly devoted the first ten chapters of his *Institutio* to the epistolary *ars;* the last three may be regarded as personal admonitions to the *artifex.* In the following table I have given the chapter headings of his work:[18]

[13] *Ibid.,* I, 15.
[14] *Ibid.,* p. 1075.
[15] *Ibid.,* p. 1074.
[16] Norden, p. 508.
[17] *Ibid.,* pp. 509–10.
[18] Lipsius, II, passim.

I. De nominibus variis epistolae: & de formâ apud veteres.
II. Quid sit epistola, & quae ejus partes.
III. Materies definita, divisa, & de praemissis epistolae.
IV. De iis quae ad finem epistolae, itemque de signo.
V. De materie varia, eiusque sectione.
VI. De inventione pauca & ordine.
VII. De sermone, quae de eo dicenda; & primùm de brevitate.
VIII. De perspicuitate; quî peccetur in eam, quî paretur.
IX. De simplicitate duplici; & ad hanc monita.
X. Junctim de venustate & decentiâ.

XI. Ad sermonem distinctè transitum, eum parari imitatione: ad hanc tria praecepta, & primùm de iis, qui, & quando, legendi.
XII. De excerptis; quo ordine ea instituenda, & à quibus singula carpenda.
XIII. De expressione & formatione stili, per tria genera imitationum.

The closing chapters XI–XIII are concerned with models of imitation for the letter-writer ("graded" for the youthful, the more mature, and the adult student, and departing progressively from the Ciceronian basis recommended to the first group). There are also admonitions for keeping a notebook or commonplace book in the Renaissance manner. Such material belongs under the caption of *artifex* and thus entitles the *Institutio* to placement in the isagogic category by its principle of structure as much as by its address to the young.

II

In one of his articles Professor Croll has an arresting footnote. He writes that in the seventeenth century the novelty of the letter as a literary *genre* was widely recognized and was associated in all minds with the "Attic" style. He directs the interested reader to comments on the letter by Francis Bacon, John Donne, Étienne Pasquier, and Joseph Hall.[19] The novelty of the letter, of course, was not that of a new *genre,* but of an old *genre* conceived in a new way. Justus Lipsius, deeply interested in the letter in the closing years of the sixteenth century, was participating in a general European interest[20] and undoubtedly saw the importance of the letter in his program of

[19] "Muret and the History of Attic Prose", *PMLA,* XXXIX (1924), 301, n. 66: "In all of these the novelty of the letter as a literary genre is insisted on or implied. As an intimate or 'moral' form, like the essay, it was in fact new, and was associated in all minds with the 'Attic' tendency."

[20] Maud Hansche, *The Formative Period of English Familiar Letters* (Philadelphia, 1902), p. 20, writes of the Italian Renaissance achievements in the familiar letter; Jakob Burckhardt, *The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy* (Phaidon Press edition, 1945), p. 138, speaks of the fame of Politian and of Pietro Bembo as letter-writers.

"anti-Ciceronian" prose style. It was with this larger stylistic program of the Belgian writer that Croll was primarily concerned, but I am more attracted by Lipsius' achievement in focusing attention upon the nature of the letter and the proper method of writing it in harmony with its nature.

I think that Lipsius wrote the *Institutio* in order to reestablish the ancient classical position of the letter, as a composition distinct from the written oration.[21] Already in the medieval period the oration and the letter had been drawn together, so that the functions of the two had become closely related. The *ars dictaminis,* or system of rules for the composition of letters, had assimilated much of the ancient rhetorical theory of the oration, so that the formal letters of the ecclesiastical and royal chancelleries came more and more to resemble classical orations in written form.[22] John of Salisbury, the great twelfth-century churchman and statesman, was one of the most distinguished letter-writers of his age, and Hans Liebeschütz has recently remarked that in John's statesmanship the Latin letter served much the same purpose that the oration had served in the life of Cicero.[23] One should not identify the two *genres* in their essential nature at any time in their history, but simply recognize their mutual attraction and the tendency of theorists and public officials to adapt the manner and functions of the one form to those of the other.

The Latin formularies of the early Renaissance maintained this association of the letter and the oration, and were imitated by the vernacular handbooks on letter-writing such as the Elizabethan manuals of Angell Day and his contemporaries. The classification of letters is the key to the literary theory behind these manuals, and one can readily see the complication of the letter with the oration in the kinds of letters included in them. The typical division is a fourfold one: demonstrative, deliberative, judicial, and familiar. Katherine Hornbeak's study of the Elizabethan "complete letter-writers" and their continental sources led her to observe about the classification of letters:

> In the formularies of Erasmus, Hegendorff, and others mentioned by [Angell] Day, the principles of classical rhetoric as found in Aristotle, Cicero,

[21] For a discussion of the letter in antiquity see Josephus Klek, *Symbuleutici qui dicitur sermonis historia critica* (Paderbornae, 1919), passim.

[22] The development of the *ars dictaminis* is a chapter not yet satisfactorily completed in the history of literature. See, however, Noel Valois, *De arte scribendi epistolas apud gallicos medii aevi scriptores rhetoresve* (Paris, 1880); C. S. Baldwin, *Medieval Rhetoric and Poetic* (New York, 1938).

[23] *Medieval Humanism in the Life and Writings of John of Salisbury* (London, 1950), p. 88.

and Quintilian are adapted to letter writing. For instance, when Day divides letters into Demonstrative, Deliberative, Judicial, and Familiar, he is following Erasmus; but the classification is far older than the sixteenth century, being an extension of the classical division of the oration.[24]

Erasmus, whose *De conscribendis epistolis* was the apogee and exemplar of Renaissance epistolary theory for more than a century, expressed an uneasiness over the analysis of the letter which I have also found in several of his predecessors and contemporaries.[25] Apparently embarrassed by the heterogeneity of the types of letters above mentioned, he admitted that a person might prefer to use other names for some of them, such as *declamatiunculae, libri,* and *orationes.*[26] But it is clear that he prefers to regard all written communications to an addressee as comprised within a large and amorphous *genre,* the letter, regardless of complications with other types of discourse. The deliberative, demonstrative, and judicial categories are obviously oratorical and formal. The fourth type, the familiar, is admitted a bit grudgingly and its lack of coordinate status with the three oratorical types is the crux of the problem. It is precisely on this point that Lipsius is challenging most of his Renaissance predecessors in epistolary theory. He recognizes that in classical antiquity the letter had enjoyed its own proper place in the hierarchy of discourse and had not been complicated with oratory.

Lipsius attempted, then, to drive a sharp wedge between the letter, properly so called, and other written communications which had long borne the name of letter incorrectly. He made a threefold division of letters according to subject matter: "materies seria","materies docta", and "materies familiaris". The first dealt with public or private matters of gravity, the second with technical or learned questions. If I interpret him correctly, he regarded the first as essentially an oration, the other as essentially a treatise. He then turned to the genuine letter, the "materies familiaris", designating it by the adjective "propria". Of this type of subject he says:[27] "Denique FAMILI-

[24] Katherine Hornbeak, *The Complete Letter-Writer in English, 1568–1800* (Northampton, Mass., 1934), pp. 21–22. See also Jean K. Robertson, *The Art of Letter Writing: an Essay on the Handbooks Published in England during the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (London, 1942), pp. 10 ff., and George Williamson, *The Senecan Amble* (Chicago, 1951), pp. 136 ff.

[25] Lippus Brandolinus, e.g., grapples with the problem in his *De ratione scribendi* (Coloniae Agrippinae, 1573), sig. A5^{v}–A6^{v}. Georgius Macropedius comes closest to the theory of Lipsius, but does not analyze the problem involved (*Methodus de conscribendis epistolis,* London, 1580, sig. Aiii^{r} and H5^{v}). William Fulwood, in the *Enemie of Idlenesse* (London, 1568), defines the letter as "an Oration written" on sig. A7^{r}. Cf. Angell Day, *The English Secretorie* (London, 1586), sig. B7^{r}.

[26] Erasmus, *De conscribendis epistolis* (Leyden, 1536), Ch. VII, sig. b1^{v}.

[27] Lipsius, II, 1073.

AREM dico, *quae res tangit nostras aut circa nos, quaeque in assidua vita.* Ea propria et creberrima Epistolae materies: &, si verum fateri volumus, germanae illius una." (Emphasis and italics not mine.)

Having limited the genuine letter to the familiar kind, Lipsius proceeded to detach it more definitely from the oratorical associations evident in the Renaissance epistolary manuals. In Chapter VI of the *Institutio,* for all practical purposes he rejects for the letter the first two parts of traditional rhetoric, *viz., inventio* and *dispositio.* (The latter he calls *ordo.*) Why, he asks, should he burden the reader with rules for invention or the selection of ideas? One who writes a letter, a genuine letter, always comes to his task bearing a message. As for *ordo* or *dispositio,* the less it is evident, the more charming the letter. The whole of this short chapter deserves quotation, but its crucial points can be excerpted:

> Nam ad Inventionem uberibus praeceptis quid opus? Cùm semper ea prompta; nec ad Epistolam scribendam veniatur nisi argumento concepto, & mente (ut ita dicam) tumente. Quod in *Familiaribus* verisque Epistolis perpetuum est. In *Seriis* aut *Doctis* paullò aliter. . . . Nec in *Ordine* quidem admodum laboro: qui optimus in Epistola, neglectus aut nullus. . . .[28]

The specific classical authority for this attempt of Lipsius to separate epistolary from oratorical style is undoubtedly Demetrius' Greek essay, Περὶ ἑρμηνείας (*On Style*),[29] for Lipsius appended a section from that essay to his *Institutio,* with a Latin translation of the Greek. The section of Demetrius' treatise thus appended is the one on epistolary style. It would, however, be a mistake to regard Demetrius as singular or exceptional in his distinctions between letter and oration. Ancient literary theory, both Greek and Latin, generally contains the clear separation of public oratory (*contentio*) from ordinary discourse (*sermo*), in which latter division the letter was commonly placed. In terms of style level, this distinction is one between the "grand" style and the "plain". Thus Demetrius was merely stating for his own time a universal classical assumption when he wrote: "There should be a certain degree of freedom in the structure of a letter. It is absurd to build up periods, as if you were writing not a letter but a speech for the law courts."[30]

Professor LaDrière has discussed this important distinction as it

[28] *Ibid.*

[29] *Demetrius on Style,* the Greek text of Demetrius *De elocutione* edited after the Paris manuscript with introduction, translation, facsimiles, etc., by W. Rhys Roberts (Cambridge, 1902).

[30] *Ibid.,* IV, 29.

appeared in ancient theory, especially in that of Cicero and Horace. "*Contentio*", he writes, "came usually to be associated, and even identified, with the grand style (e.g. Cicero, *Brutus,* 202; thus too *contentio* designates the tragic or heroic style, as in Cicero, *Orator,* 109), and *sermo* was identified with the plain style (Cicero, *De officiis,* 1, 133; *De oratore,* 1, 255)."[31] Professor Valentine Weichert, who edited two ancient treatises on letter writing, observed in his introduction that in ancient theory the precepts for letter-writing were the same as those for conversation or ordinary speech: "Ita factum est, ut in scribendis epistulis eadem atque in dialogo vel etiam in sermone praecepta adhibenda esse doceretur."[32] He cited Cicero (*Ep.* IX, 21, 1), Seneca (*ad Lucil.* ep. 75) and Quintilian (*Inst. or.* IX, IV, 19) to support his point.

The mention of dialogue in the above remark of Professor Weichert opens up an important question in the relationships of the letter. As a written *genre,* the letter had its association not with the oration but with the dialogue. Into this question of the letter and the dialogue Lipsius plunged vigorously and took issue even with his classical authority, Demetrius, towards whose treatise he had otherwise shown such respect and regard.[33]

The divergence of Lipsius from the Greek writer appears first in connection with IV, 223 of the essay *On Style.* Demetrius says:

> We will next treat of the epistolary style, since it too should be plain. Artemon, the editor of Aristotle's *Letters,* says that a letter ought to be written in the same manner as a dialogue, a letter being regarded by him as one of the two sides of a dialogue.
>
> There is perhaps some truth in what he says, but not the whole truth. The letter should be a little more studied than the dialogue, since the latter reproduces an extemporary utterance, while the former is committed to writing and is (in a way) sent as a gift.

Demetrius regarded the dialogue as less polished than the letter. As he says in another passage, the epistolary style is a compound of the graceful and the plain styles,[34] and he considered the dialogue as lacking in the epistolary grace; hence his disagreement with Artemon's

[31] J. Craig LaDrière, "Horace and the Theory of Imitation", *American Journal of Philology,* LX (1939), 289.

[32] *Demetrii et Libanii qui feruntur* Τύποι ἐπιστολικοί *et* Επιστολιμαῖοι Χαρακτῆρες, edidit Valentinus Weichert (Lipsiae, 1910), p. xii.

[33] Whether the letter was supposed to imitate primarily natural dialogue or the literary *genre* of the dialogue is a question which will require a separate article. Lipsius' historical position places him within possible debt to the Lucianic dialogue of late antiquity and to the Italian art of the dialogue highly developed in the Renaissance.

[34] Demetrius, IV, 234.

observation. Lipsius comments on this disagreement which he finds in Demetrius' text and takes the side of Artemon: ". . . quia revera epistola quid aliud, quàm cottidiana dissertatio? ut non errârit Artemo apud Demetrium, qui censet eodem modo Dialogum & Epistolam scribi."[35]

This conflict is really not a question of the plain style *versus* some other, but rather an opposition between two types of "plain" style—a rough and a polished one. Essentially it is an opposition between spoken and written discourse. Agreeing with Artemon, Lipsius associated the letter with the dialogue and in the light of this classification the various parts of his *Institutio* reveal a consistent doctrine of style.[36]

The letter as a bisected dialogue is an oral speech process arrested and recorded in writing.[37] The conditions for the communication of the speaker's thought are ideal, for as Rudolph Hirzel remarks, the addressee cannot interrupt the flow of the speaker's ideas with objections and questions.[38] (I suppose this is what Goethe meant when he called letters "ideelle Dialoge".[39]) The genuine letter, however, is not a treatise and Lipsius seems to have regarded the ease and dynamism of oral conversation as appropriate, in spite of Demetrius' disapproval. His enthusiastic recommendation of Plautine Latin as the model of "Atticism" *par excellence* admits of this interpretation, for he chooses *dramatic* speech as the perfect Latin of elegant conversation. Referring to Plautus and Terence by name he asks: "Ver-

[35] Lipsius, II, 1079. Regarding this disagreement between Demetrius and Artemon, Torquato Tasso also made some comments and favored the position of Demetrius (*Il segretario,* pp. 123–4).

[36] Aristotle had already made a similar distinction between spoken and written styles when he divided the prose of oratory into λέξις ἀγωνιστική and λέξις γραφική. The former is the style of deliberative and forensic oratory, the manner of debate, either before a crowd or before a law court. The latter is the manner of epideictic oratory, suited for written composition. Demetrius used the Aristotelian distinction and applied it to the letter, assigning the written style to it and reserving the spoken form for the dialogue. (*Aristotle, with an English translation: the "Art of Rhetoric",* by John Henry Freese, Loeb Classical Library, London, 1939, III, xii, 1–2.) It is worthy of note that Aristotle had used the addressee or audience as the determining element in the selection of oratorical manner. The type of listener controls the type of rhetoric used by the speaker (*ibid.,* III, iii, 1). Epideictic oratory is suitable for written composition because the addressee is a kind of spectator of the orator's virtuosity in eulogy or condemnation; in the deliberative and forensic speeches an audience must be persuaded to judge the orator's admonitions or the guilt of a defendant. I think that Lipsius, even more clearly than Demetrius, analyzed the nature of the letter also in terms of its addressee, selecting the style of the dialogue because of the addressee's influence upon the letter-writer's speech.

[37] Rudolf Hirzel, *Der Dialog* (Leipzig, 1895), I, 306, says: "Der Brief ist eine Art von Rede und unterscheidet sich von der eigentlichen Rede nur durch seinen geringeren Umfang."

[38] *Ibid.*

[39] Goethe's phrase is quoted from *Dichtung und Wahrheit* by Rhys Roberts in the Loeb Classical Library edition of Demetrius, p. 439.

borum proprietas à quibus petatur melius? à quibus Phrasium ille nitor Atticus? Jam Venus, & lepor & comitas à quibus uberiùs hauriatur, quàm à meo comico?"[40]

In advocating the speech of comic drama for the written letter, Lipsius made a departure from Demetrius, for the latter had explicitly rejected "mimetic" or "dramatic" speech for the letter:

> Frequent breaks in a sentence such as . . . are not appropriate in letters. Such breaks cause obscurity in writing, and the gift of imitating conversation is a better aid to debate than to writing. Consider the opening of the *Euthydemus:* 'Who was it, Socrates, with whom you were conversing yesterday in the Lyceum? Quite a large crowd was surrounding your party.' And a little further on Plato adds: 'Nay, he seems to me to be some stranger, the man with whom you were conversing. Who was he, pray?' All such imitative style better suits an actor; it does not suit written letters.[41]

Closely connected with the fluidity and dynamism of epistolary "conversation" is Lipsius' notion of gracefulness or charm. The series of adjectives used by him to give the total impression of *venustas,* as he calls it, indicates the importance of liveliness and sprightliness: *"Venustatem* appello: *cùm sermo totus alacer, vivus, erectus est, & allicientem quamdam gratiam Veneremque praefert."*[42] Lipsius continues by calling this quality a gift of nature, but yet offering two rules for its conscious acquisition: first, using allusions and quotations from history and literature; secondly, seasoning the discourse with wit and humor. This seasoning he calls the very soul and life of the letter (an observation which suggests that epistolary art owes more than its diction and prose rhythm to the language of comic drama): "Secundùm, ut jocis salibusque opportunè condias; quos animam & vitam epistolae esse non fugiam dicere".[43]

This survey which I have made of epistolary theory in Lipsius'

[40] Lipsius, II, 1079. The admiration for Plautine Latin was one of the most controversial aspects of Lipsius' tempestuous career. He not only advocated this kind of Latin for letters but considered it appropriate for other types of prose as well. Lipsian prose was essentially a hybrid, formed by an eclectic imitation of several writers, beginning with Cicero and including both early and late Latin authors abhorred by the purist "Ciceronians". (Charles Nisard, *Le triumvirat littéraire au XVI^e siècle: Juste Lipse, Joseph Scaliger et Isaac Casaubon,* Paris, 1852, p. 144.)

[41] Demetrius, IV, 226. Roberts' footnote concerning the apparent lacuna in the first sentence is: "Lacunam statuit Goellerus". In the notes at the back of his book, p. 249, Roberts adds: "Some such words as αἱ τοῦ διαλόγου may have been lost".

[42] Lipsius, II, 1077 (italics not mine). On the art of the dialogue in antiquity and the Renaissance, see the article "Dialogo" in the *Enciclopedia Italiana di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti,* XII, 735–37; and Giovannini, "Dialogue", in *Dictionary of World Literature* (1st ed., New York, 1943), pp. 161–62.

[43] Lipsius, II, 1077. This little passage on gracefulness apparently owes a debt to Cicero's *De oratore,* II, liv, 216 and probably also to Demetrius, III, 163. Tasso also advises raillery in letters (pp. 119–20).

little essay should throw into relief the nature of the *Institutio* and its basic ideas. I think that the isagogic form of the treatise, with its conventional pretext of address to the uninitiated, was a transparent disguise for a mature and scholarly criticism of the Renaissance epistolary manuals. Lipsius withdrew the letter from complication with the oration and associated it with the dialogue, offering then a consistent pattern of style in the conversational manner of spoken discourse, and suggesting the great comic dramatists as models of a Latin prose at once simple, familiar, and graceful, with the urbanity and sprightliness of truly "Attic" speech.

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Samuel Daniel's Method of Writing History

"I vow to bee of no other side, then of Truth", wrote Samuel Daniel in the first installment of his *History of England,* "or as neer truth-likelinesse as I possibly can get."[1] And in the *Collection,* or fuller version of the *History,* published the year before his death, he went on to indicate his method of attaining this truth, or truth-likeliness, in what he wrote: "For the Worke it selfe I can chalenge nothing therein but only the sowing it together, and the obseruation of those necessary circumstances, and inferences which the History naturally ministers"; and yet, "although the inquisition of Ancient times, written by others be prepared, yet the Collection and Disposition I finde most Laborious".[2] That is to say, the task of such an historian, a task which Daniel found difficult enough, was to collect the truth out of earlier writers and to reproduce it without change, except as he organized it into a clear, continuous narrative and drew the conclusions which his material would naturally supply. His art was subordinated to his material; he was not a partisan, but a recorder.

The modesty with which Daniel speaks of his own contribution to the *History of England* has sometimes been misunderstood. His claim to have had "only the sowing it together" is cited by Edward Edwards, for example, as a confession that he merely copied out of a manuscript by Ralegh the extensive portions of the *History* which correspond to the so-called *Breviary of the History of England;*[3] and this charge of outright plagiarism has been echoed by others, though with diminishing conviction. In the case of the *Breviary,* to be sure, the misconception is entangled with a peculiar problem in the assignment of authorship; but if another large, yet less abnormal body of evidence can be shown to reveal that Daniel's procedure is not that of a mere copyist, it may help to correct this misconception about the *Breviary* in particular and his method of writing history in general.

* * *

When Daniel came to write the purely Norman, as distinct from the English section of his *History,* three sources were easily available

[1] *The First Part of the Historie of England* (London, 1612), p. 2. For the opportunity to gather the material in this paper I am indebted to a Guggenheim Fellowship.

[2] "Certaine Aduertisements to the Reader", *The Collection of the Historie of England* (London, 1618), sigs. A3^{v}, A3^{r}. This edition is hereafter identified as *History;* in quoting from it I have made a few necessary changes in wording and punctuation.

[3] *The Life of Sir Walter Ralegh* (London, 1868), I, 515. See a forthcoming article on "The Authorship of *A Breviary of the History of England*", in which I endeavor to prove that Daniel himself wrote the *Breviary.*

to him in a single volume edited by William Camden: a *Fragmentum de Guilielmo Conquestore* (in reality two fragments from Ordericus Vitalis), the *Ypodigma Neustriae* by Thomas of Walsingham, and the *De Ducum Normannorum Gestis* by William of Jumièges.[4] From William of Jumièges it has been said that Daniel mainly derived the early history of Normandy;[5] but a comparison of texts indicates that he can have derived very little of this material from William, or, for that matter, from Thomas of Walsingham or the *Fragmentum*. It is clear that he must have had some as yet unidentified source or sources for most of the eight folio pages he devoted to the Normans.

What at least one of his sources is, Daniel himself suggests in a marginalium which reads, "The History of *Normand*".[6] The identity of this work, presumably anonymous as it appears to be, is established when we compare the passage he is annotating with the equivalent section of *L'Histoire et Cronique de Normandie,* published at Rouen in 1581:

The people hauing beene lately before miserably afflicted by *Hasting* . . . were so terrified by the approach of these new forces, that the Archbishop of *Roan,* by the consent of the people, offered him [Rou] the obedience of that Citty, and the Countrey about, on condition, he would defend them, and minister Iustice according to the Lawes of CHRIST, and the Customes of the Countrey. For *Charles* the *Simple,* then King of *Fraunce,* yeelding no present succour. . . . [*History,* p. 23.]

Et pource que Hastenc auoit n'agueres destruit le pays, l'Archeuesque de Rouen qui lors estoit nommé Francques, par le conseil de tout le peuple alla contre luy, et luy offrit obeissance de Rouen, et tout le pays: par ainsi qu'il le deffendroit et tiendroit en iustice, selon la loy de Iesus Christ, et les coustumes du pays. . . . Car le Roy de France qui lors estoit nommé Charles le Simple, ne mettoit nul remede à la deffense de son Royaume. [*Histoire,* ff. 13^{v}–14^{r}.][7]

This contemporary French publication undoubtedly represents the work, if not the very edition, from which Daniel took his account of the surrender of Normandy to Rou; and it is natural to wonder what this *Histoire et Cronique de Normandie* actually was. The edition of 1581, which seems to have been a page-for-page reprint from that of 1578, contains a dedication and an introductory poem in

[4] *Anglica, Normannica, Hibernica, Cambrica, a Veteribus Scripta* (Frankfort, 1603), pp. 29–35, 409–592, 604–691. August Potthast has noted that the *Fragmentum* comes from the *Historia Ecclesiastica* of Ordericus (*Wegweiser durch die Geschichtswerke des Europäischen Mittelalters,* Berlin, 1896, II, 879).

[5] May McKisack, "Samuel Daniel as Historian", *RES,* XXIII, 231.

[6] *History,* p. 23. The marginalium does not appear in the editions of 1612 and 1613.

[7] All quotations are made from the 1581 edition of the *Histoire,* with a few necessary changes in punctuation.

which the publisher, Martin le Mesgissier, implies that he himself is the author of the whole; and Richard Verstegan, almost certainly writing before Daniel did, refers to the book as Mesgissier's.[8] Nevertheless, this is in reality an abridged version of the anonymous *Croniques de Normendie* which were published twice at Rouen in 1487 and frequently republished at Paris and Rouen between that date and 1610.[9] Thus Daniel makes use of a work which Hall, Holinshed, and Stow call the *"Croniques"* or "Chronicles" of Normandy and whose author Holinshed, Stow, and Speed mistakenly identify as *"William Tailleur",* that is, Guillaume Talleur of Rouen, one of the original publishers of the *Croniques* in 1487.[10] None of these other English historians, however, has much to say about the Normans, and the fact that they went to the same source as Daniel did has no real bearing on the peculiarly close relationship between his *History* and the *Histoire* published by Mesgissier.

For Daniel's indebtedness is clearly revealed, not only throughout the account of Normandy before the conquest, but also, to a lesser extent, in what he has to say about the Norman kings of England. A selection from the more striking parallels is, in fact, sufficient to demonstrate that the *Histoire,* like the works of William of Malmesbury, Roger of Hoveden, and Matthew Paris, is one of the major sources of the *History:*

Le Duc Robert ayant deuotion de peregriner au sainct Sepulchre, manda ses Barons, leur faisant ouuerture de son intention, lesquels s'efforcerent de le diuertir de ceste entreprinse, luy proposant qu'il n'auoit aucuns hoirs de sa chair, et qu'Alain Comte de Bretaigne, et le Comte de Bourgongne, sont ià en altercation pour qui luy succederoit en la Duché, chacun se maintenant le plus prochain heritier. Pour lequel different le pays seroit

Robert . . . resolues to visite the Holy Sepulchre. And acquainting his Nobility therewithall, was by them much diswaded, in regard he had no issue: and for that already (they sayd) *Alain,* Earle of *Britaine,* and the Earle of *Burgogne,* were in contestation, who should succeed him in the Dutchie: so that vpon his death, and their strife, the Country was like to become a prey to the souldier, from which, in conscience he was bound,

[8] *A Restitution of Decayed Intelligence* (London, 1628), pp. 170, 174. Internal evidence betrays that Daniel knew the *Restitution,* originally published in 1605.

[9] Ulysse Chevalier, *Répertoire des Sources Historiques du Moyen Age: Topo-Bibliographie* (Montbéliard, 1894–1903), col. 2132. The Bodleian Library has an undated Rouen edition of the *Croniques* published by Pierre Regnault, and the British Museum another undated Rouen edition (?1505) published by Jean Burges; I am indebted to Professor Irvin Ehrenpreis for comparing these with the Mesgissier text of 1581.

[10] Edward Hall, *The Vnion of the Two Noble and Illustre Famelies of Lancastre and Yorke* (London, 1550), sig. Aiiij^{r}; Raphael Holinshed, *The Chronicles of England, Scotland, and Ireland* (London, 1586–1587), III, 2; John Stow, *The Annales* (London, 1615), p. 103; John Speed, *The Historie of Great Britaine* (London, 1632), p. 417. For Talleur see Chevalier.

disposé en proye, aduenant la mort du Duc. Par ma foy, dit le Duc, sans seigneur ne vous laisseray, i'ay vn petit bastard qui croistra, si Dieu plaist: de la preud'hommie duquel ie espere beaucoup. Ie ne suis en doute qu'il ne soit de mon engendrement. Pour ce vous prie de le receuoir à seigneur. Et dés à present ie le faissis deuant vous de la Duché, comme mon heritier. Ie constitue Alain Comte de Bretaigne gouuernour et Seneschal de Normandie, iusques à ce que Guillaume soit en aage. Ce pendant Henry Roy de France aura la garde de l'enfant. [*Histoire,* f. 62^{v}.]

by his best meanes to secure it. The Duke willed them to bee content: I haue (said he) a little Bastard, of whose worthinesse, I haue great hope, and I doubt not, but he is of my begetting: him will I inuest in the Dutchie as mine heire: And from hence forth I pray you take him for your Lord. The Earle of *Brittaine* (notwithstanding his competition) to shew the affiance I haue in him I will constitute his gouernour, and Seneschall of *Normandie;* the King of *France* shalbe his Guardian. [*History,* pp. 23–24.]

Vn nommé Guillesen, . . . frere de mere de Neel le Vicomte passa à force de cheual au trauers des François, et ayant choisi le Roy, l'abbatit d'vn coup de lance. Le Comte de sainct Paul accourut ceste part pour secourir le Roy, et s'entrerencontrerent si furieusement, que lesdits Comte de sainct Paul et Guillesen tomberent par terre. Et comme ledit Guillesen fut promptement remonté, son cheual fut occis sous luy par le seigneur de Chastillon: neantmoins il eschappa de la presse, et se retira depuis la bataille, auec plusieurs des ennemis du Duc Guillaume à la Pouille. [*Histoire,* f. 74^{r}.]

Here one *Guilleson,* Vncle to *Viconte Neel* by the mother, forced his horse into the battailion of the *French,* and made at the King, and strake him downe with his Launce: which Conte Saint *Paule* perceiuing, hastes to incounter him with that violence, as both fell to the earth: but *Guilleson* soone gets vp, and though his horse was slaine vnder him, by *Chastillon,* hee escapes out of the presse, and after fled into *Apulia* with others. [*History,* p. 25.]

Aduint vn iour que debat s'esmeut entre Osmond Drengo d'vne part, et Guillaume Repostel d'autre part, deux vaillans gentils hommes Normans et bien apparentez. Lesquels comme ils chassoyent en la forest de Rouueray pres Rouen auec le Duc Robert leur seigneur: ledit Drengo tua ledit Repostel present d'iceluy Duc. Et ce fait iceluy Drengo se sauua de vitesse. Et craignant la fureur du Duc, et force des parens dudit Repostel, delibera

There happened a debate betweene one *Osmond Drengot,* and *William Repostell,* Gentlemen both valiant, and of great parentage in *Normandie,* who as they hunted in the forrest of *Rouuerie* (neere *Rouan*) with Duke *Robert; Drengot* slue *Repostell,* in his presence, and fearing the fury of the Duke, and the friends of the slaine, fled to *Rome,* and so to *Naples,* where hee, with his small company of *Normans* that followed him, was

vuider le pays, et s'en aller à Rome: et de là à Naples, où il fut bien receu du Duc de Beneuent, auec certaine compagnie de Normans qui l'auoyent suyui lesquels receurent la solde, pour mener la guerre aux Sarrazins et Afficquains qui occupoyent la Pouille et Callabre. Apres que le bruit fut repandu iusques en Normandie . . . plusieurs gentils-hommes et vaillans soldats conuoiteux d'honneur, et allechez de la bonne fortune dudit Drengo, passerent les monts. [*Histoire,* f. 92.]

entertained of the Duke *de Beneuento,* to serue him against the *Sarasins,* and *Affricans,* which miserably infested *Apulia,* and *Calabria,* at that time. The bruite of which entertainement was no sooner spred in *Normandy,* but diuers valiant Gentlemen and Souldiers, allured with the hope of good fortune, passed the Alpes. [*History,* p. 26.]

[Duke William sends Roger de Montgomery with two others to investigate the forces of Geoffrey Martel, saying,] et si vous le voyez, dites luy que s'il porte viures à ceux de Dampfront, i'en garde la porte: et que demain matin i'y seray pour les receuoir. . . . Geoffroy luy respondit: Dites au Duc Guillaume que demain au poinct du iour que ie seray monté sus vn cheual blanc, prest à le combatre, et entreray dedans la porte de Dampfront si ie puis. Et afin qu'il me cognoisse, i'auray vn escu tout d'or sans aucune deuise.

Ledit Roger replique, Sire ne vous trauaillez point: car bien matin aurez le Duc en ceste place, monté sus vn cheual bayard, auec vn escu de gueulles: et afin de le recognoistre, il aura au bout de sa lance vne cornette de taffetas, dont il vous essuyra le visage. . . . Chacun de sa part ordonnerent leurs gens, et le matin comme Geoffroy eust distribué ses batailles, deux cheualiers qui cheuauchoyent à trauers champs luy vindrent dire, que pour neant il se trauailloit, pource que Dampfront estoit rendu au Duc, et l'acertenoyent de vray. Ledit Martel croyant qu'il fut ainsi, tout courroucé

The Duke to take notice of his strength, sends out *Roger de Mongomerie,* with two other knights to deliuer this message to the Earle, *That if he came to victuall* Dampfronte, *he should finde him there the Porter to keepe him out:* whereto the Earle returnes this answere: *Tell the Duke, to morrow by daie breake, hee shall haue mee there on a white horse, readie to giue him the Combate, and I will enter* Dampfront *if I can; And to the end hee shall know me, I will weare a shield* d'or, *without any deuise.*

Roger replies, *Sir you shall not neede to take that paines, for to morrow morning, you shall haue the Duke in this place, mounted on a bay horse; And that you may know him, hee shall weare on the point of his Launce, a streamer of taffata, to wipe your face.* Herewith returning, each side prepares for the morning: when the Earle, busie in ordering his battailes, was aduertised by two horsemen, that came crossing the field, how *Dampfronte,* for certaine was rendred to the Duke; whereupon in great rage, hee presently departs with his Army. [*History,* p. 27, misnumbered 26.]

s'en retourna à son pays. [*Histoire,* ff. 76ᵛ–77ᵛ.]

[Duke William leads an army to Evreux] pour faire teste au Roy qui estoit à Mante. . . . Puis fit retirer le bestail et viures du plat pays és villes et forteresses, tant pour s'en aider au besoing, que pour empescher les François d'en auoir la commodité. L'armée du Roy preste de marcher vint de Beauuais à Mortemer. . . . Et pource que les François trouuerent le pays gras et abondant en beurres, bleds, foings, chairs et fourrages pour leur cheuaux, ils s'arresterent en ce lieu pour passer la nuict, faisans grand chere et sans aucune doute s'endormirent, estimans ques [*sic*] les Normans fussent encores auec le Duc Guillaume à Eureux. . . . [Other Norman forces, under Odo, marching from Caux by night,] Leur donnerent vn tel effroy qu'ils quitterent cheuaux, et abandonnerent harnois et bagages. . . . De bien quarante mille François n'eschappa la quarte partie. [*Histoire,* f. 87.]

Himselfe with the other takes towards *Eureux* (to make head to the King that was at *Mante*) and withdrawes all cattle and prouisions out of the flat Country, into Cities and Fortresses, for their owne store, and disfurnishment of the enemie. The Kings army marching from *Beauuois,* to *Mortimer,* and finding there a fat Country full of all prouisions, betooke them to make good cheere, and rests there all that night; thinking the *Norman* forces were yet with the Duke at *Eureux;* which, the army in *Caux,* conducted by *Odo* vnderstanding, marched all night, and by breake of day, gaue them so hot an alarme, and so sodaine, as put them all in rout, leauing horse, and armour, and all to the assaylants; who made such a distruction of them, as of forty thousand, not the fourth part escaped. [*History,* p. 28.]

Robert qui estoit ià aduerty de la venue de son pere vint au deuant, auec deux mil hommes d'armes que le Roy de France luy auoit baillez, et se mit en embuche au lieu ou deuoit passer son pere, et se combatirent si rudement l'vn contre l'autre, que la pluspart des gens du Roy y furent ou morts ou prins, et en la presse ledit Robert abbatit son pere d'vn coup de lance, et luy perça le bras. Et sçachant que c'estoit son pere il le releua, et luy demanda humblement pardon: ce que le Roy son pere luy accorda. Et ce fait le Roy Guillaume, ledit Robert, et Guillaume le Roux son frere, qui auoit esté blessé au combat s'en vin-

[Robert] aduertised of his comming, furnisht with two thousand men at Armes, by the King of *France,* lay in ambush where he should passe; sets vpon him, defeited most of his people, and in the pursuite happened to incounter with himselfe, whom hee vnhorsed, and wounded in the arme, with his Launce; but perceiuing by his voice, it was his father, he hasted to remounte him, humbly crauing pardon for his offence: which the father (seeing in what case he was) granted, howsoeuer he gaue; and vpon his submission, tooke him with him to *Rouen;* whence, after cured of his hurt, hee returned with his

drent rafreschir à Rouen. [*Histoire*, f. 118r.]

sonne *William* (likewise wounded in the fight) into *England*. [*History*, p. 35.][11]

Au iour termé de receuoir l'argent il [Henry] se trouua à Rouen: mais au lieu d'y satisfaire, le Duc Robert nouuellement retourné d'Angleterre le fit mettre en prison, et luy conuint renoncer au pays de Constantin, et iurer qu'il partiroit de Normandie sans iamais aucune chose y reclamer pour en yssir. Ledit Henry estant hors de prison s'en alla vers Philippe Roy de France, qui le receut humainement et le retint par long temps en sa maison. Vn iour comme Henry estoit à Paris, vn cheualier nommé Hachard s'adressa à luy. . . . [After Hachard's plan to take Domfront had succeeded,] ledit Henry conquist tout le pays de Passays. D'auantage ledit Henry conquist la plus grande partie de Constantin, à l'aide que luy faisoit secrettement Guillaume le Roux son frere, Richard de riuieres, et Roger de Manneuille. [*Histoire*, f. 125v.]

Who repairing to *Rouan* at his day appointed, in stead of receiuing it, was committed to prison, and before he could be released, forced to renounce the Countrey of *Constantine*, and sweare neuer to claime any thing in *Normandy*.

Henry complaines of this grosse iniustice, to *Philip* King of *France*, who gaue him a faire entertainement in his Court. Where he remained not long, but that a Knight of *Normandy*, named *Hachard*, vndertaking to put him into a Fort (maugre his brother *Robert*) within the Duchy; conueyed him disguised out of the Court, and wrought so, as the Castle of *Dampfront* was deliuered vnto him: whereby shortly after, he got all the Countrey of *Passays*, about it, and a good part of *Constantine*, by the secret aide of King *William*, *Richard de Riuieres*, and *Roger de Manneuile*. [*History*, p. 46.][12]

Some of the material in these passages was available in the published chronicles of William of Malmesbury, Roger of Hoveden, William of Jumièges, and others; but in each case there are crucial details, both of fact and of wording, which reveal that Daniel went primarily to the *Histoire*. In the following passage he recounts an episode which, as far as I can discover, was available to him in the *Histoire* alone:

Iceluy Robert et Henry son frere estans vn iour en Normandie se deliberent aller saluer le Roy de France

After the two Princes had beene there a while, they went to visite the King of *France* at *Conflance*, where feast-

[11] The version of this episode in the *Breviary* is even closer to the French: William Rufus accompanies his father and brother to Rouen (Cotton MS. Titus F. III, f. 318v). Both the *Breviary* and the *History* include one detail, Robert's recognition of King William by his voice, which does not appear in the *Histoire* and probably came from Roger of Hoveden (*Rerum Anglicarum Scriptores*, ed. Sir Henry Savile, London, 1596, f. 262r).

[12] Daniel seems to have mistranslated "par long temps" as "not long", probably misreading "par" as "pas" in his notes.

qui estoit à Conflans, où ils seiournerent quelques iours. Et comme ledit Henry ioüoit aux eschez apres disner auec Loys fils du Roy Philippe, Iceluy Loys voyant qu'il perdoit, en colere appela ledit Henry fils de bastard, et luy ietta les eschez au visage. Henry leua l'eschiquier et en frappa ledit Loys de si grande force qu'il le fit saigner: et l'eust occis si Robert son frere qui suruint ne l'eust empesché. Et ce fait Robert et Henry vindrent en diligence vers Pontoise, lesquels furent poursuyuis par les gens du Roy. [*Histoire,* ff. 118^{v}–119^{r}.]

ing certaine dayes, vpon an after dinner, *Henry* wanne so much at chesse, of *Louis,* the Kings eldest sonne, as hee, growing into choller, called him the sonne of a Bastard, and threw the Chesse in his face. *Henry* takes vp the Chesse-bord, and strake *Louis,* with that force, as drew bloud, and had killed him, had not his brother *Robert* come in the meane time, and interposed himselfe: Whereupon they suddenly tooke horse, and with much adoe they recouered *Pontoise,* from the Kings people that pursued them. [*History,* p. 35.][13]

* * *

The debt which Daniel owes to the *Histoire* is beyond question; the evidence, in fact, is so extensive and so minute that it might almost seem to justify those who believe that he merely copied or translated large sections of his book from other authors. But a comparison of the entire *History* with all the other works which lie behind it, and indeed a closer examination of the very passages already quoted, would reveal the falsity of this assumption: Daniel frequently uses more than one of his sources in a single episode, and he not only sews them together, as he says, but he condenses, amalgamates, and interprets his material into a narrative which is characteristically his own. This process is somewhat simplified in the case of the *Histoire,* where there were few competing sources; simplification, however, has an advantage if one is looking for salient details which illustrate a writer's method.

Since Daniel vowed to be of no other side than truth, his method can hardly be said to include transmutation of fact; nevertheless, it is worth noting that like most contemporary historians, if to a lesser degree than many, he was inaccurate at times, and particularly in the case of numbers.[14] It is not surprising, for example, to find that when he reports, out of the *Histoire,* how a gentleman of Rye saved the life of the young Duke William, he misrepresents the gentleman's three sons as two.[15] On the other hand, he makes very few outright

[13] The edition of 1612 supplies the correct reading *"Conflance"* for *"Constance"* in later editions. The *Breviary,* which includes this episode, has *"Conflans"* in the Cotton manuscript (Titus F. III, f. 318^{v}), where other manuscripts read *"Conflaus"*.

[14] He apologizes for the fault in the *History* (sig. A4^{r}), although he belittles its importance in regard to dates.

[15] *Histoire,* f. 72^{r}; *History,* p. 25.

mistranslations like the one which occurs when he describes the gifts of Alexander II to the Conqueror as "a Banner of the Church, with an *Agnus* of Gold, and one of the haires of Saint *Peter*"; the list is obviously derived from the *Histoire's* "vne baniere de l'Eglise, auec vn anneau d'or, où il y auoit vne pierre precieuse enchassee: auec l'vn des cheueux de sainct Pierre", but Daniel has taken an *anneau,* or ring, for an *Agneau,* or *Agnus,* an image of the Lamb.[16] In still a third case, a passage in which the *Histoire* is his only source, he does not so much mistranslate as misinterpret the attitude of William Rufus to his brother Henry:

Le Duc Robert s'en retourna en Normandie. Puis alla en Constantin et tollit à Henry son frere le pays qu'il luy auoit engagé pour argent emprunté, dont auoit souldoyé son armee quand il passa en Angleterre. Quand Guillaume le Roux en fut aduerti il en print grande ioye, et manda à son frere Henry par moquerie qu'il ne fit pas tresor du gaing qu'il auoit eu à prester son argent à son frere Robert pour le desheriter du Royaume d'Angleterre. Henry ayant perdu le pays de Constantin et ses deniers, et se voyant à la malle grace de ses deux freres, fut moult dolent. [*Histoire,* f. 124^{r}.]

Robert hauing closed this businesse, resumes by force the Country of *Constantin* out of his brother *Henries* hands, without discharge of those summes, for which hee had ingaged it. Whereupon King *William* obrayds *Henry* (with the great gaine hee had made by his vsurie) in lending money to depriue him of his Crowne. And so *Henry* got the hatred of both his brothers. [*History,* p. 45.]

The change of William's mockery into upbraiding, in itself, can hardly be deliberate, though it may be the indirect result of attempting to reduce the French into a more concise equivalent.

Although these errors are not part of Daniel's method, then, they are sometimes related to it, particularly when he abbreviates his source. Successful abbreviation, on the other hand, is typical of his method, as, to take a small example, in his rendering of Duke William's encounter with Count Martel:

Le frappa de son espee tellement qu'il luy froissa son heaume et la coiffe, et

[William] stracke him downe with his sworde, claue his helmet, and cut

[16] *History,* p. 30; *Histoire,* ff. 99^{v}–100^{r}. William of Malmesbury and Matthew of Westminster mention only the banner (*Rerum Anglicarum Scriptores,* f. 56^{r}; *Flores Historiarum,* ed. Matthew Parker, London, 1570, I, 435); the *Breviary* includes the banner and the hair, but not the *Agnus* (Cotton MS. Titus F. III, f. 314^{v}). It is interesting that Verstegan translates this passage of the *Histoire* correctly (*Restitution,* p. 175) and that Speed, who has only the banner in 1611, later adopts Daniel's mistranslation (*The History of Great Britaine,* London, 1611, p. 405; *Historie,* 1632, p. 406).

luy couppa l'oreille, l'abbatit par terre: mais il fut incontinent remonté, et se tira hors de la presse. [*Histoire*, f. 77ᵛ.]

off an eare: but yet hee escaped out of the preasse. [*History*, p. 27.]

The blow on the count's helmet and the loss of his ear are kept as the vivid and essential details, but the *History* omits the less important fact of his remounting. Condensation, however, somewhat misrepresents the genealogy of Roger de Tresny at the beginning of a long passage which is founded on the *Histoire*:

Roger de Tresny puissant en biens, hardy cheualier et superbe, porte guydon de Normandie extraict de Huldrich de Tresny, oncle de Raoul premier Duc, et son adiuteur en la conqueste de Normandie, auoit esté en Espagne combatre les Sarrazins: lors que le Duc Robert dernier decedé estoit en son voyage d'outre mer. Depuis s'estoit retiré ledit Roger de Tresny, auec grans biens et honneurs en sa maison et pays de Normandie, où faisant grande chere mesprisoit par sa haultesse de coeur le petit Duc Guillaume, disant qu'il n'estoit licite qu'vn tel bastard succedast à telle Duché, et eut auctorité de commander sur luy et autres grans seigneurs qui estoyent issus du sang et rasse de Raoul, Guillaume, et des Richards Ducs de Normandie en ligne directe et legitime, et non bastards comme cestuy. [*Histoire*, ff. 67ᵛ–68ʳ.]

Whereof the first . . . was *Roger de Tresny*, bringing a faire line from *Roule*, and much proofe of his owne worth, by hauing gotten great experience, in the *Sarazine* warre in *Spaine*: whereby vpon his returne, entertayning and feasting the great, and especiall men of worth; hee was growen powerfull, well followed, and beloued of many: in so much that at length, measuring his owne heigth, hee vrges, *What wrong it was that a Bastard, and a Childe, should bee preferred before him, in the succession of the Dutchie, his Auncestors had noblie gotten: and what a shame the* Normans *(a people of that worth) would indure to bee so gouerned; seeing they had others of the renowned race of* Roule, William *and* Richard, *Dukes* of *Normandie, of a lawfull and direct line, if they held him vnworthie to inherite the State.* [*History*, p. 24.]

Roger was clearly not descended from Rou, as the *History* implies; and the end of this passage also reveals another kind of change, or recreation, of the material. Daniel does not invent Roger's words, as many contemporary historians would have done, without compunction and on classical precedent; but by a slight alteration he makes Roger adopt a more deferential tone toward the other legitimate claimants to the duchy. In this case truthlikeliness may be said to have superseded truth.

Abbreviation and change of tone are not the only evidence that

Daniel is far more independent than a mere copyist would be. A close scrutiny discovers that he has sometimes reorganized what he borrows, observing the "necessary circumstances", as he calls them, at the most appropriate places. His account of Duke Robert's departure for the Holy Land is a good illustration of this aspect of his method:

[Duke Robert aided King Henry of France to regain that country from the King's brother, whom their mother Constance had put on the throne. . . . Arlette, the daughter of a bourgeois of Falaise, became the mistress of Duke Robert and gave birth to his son William. . . .] Les Prelats et Barons de Normandie presentement firent hommage audit Guillaume, et le receurent à seigneur. . . . fut mené Guillaume son fils bastard au Roy Henry à Paris, où le Duc luy liura par la main: et presentement l'enfant luy fit hommage de la Duché de Normandie. [. . . Duke Robert was poisoned and died at Nicea in 1035.] [*Histoire,* ff. 60, 61^{v}–62^{r}, 62^{v}, 64^{r}.]

Shortly after, the Bishops and Barons did their homage to this base sonne, named *William,* who was the sixt Duke of *Normandie* after *Roule,* begotten on *Arlette,* a meane woman of *Falaise.* And Duke *Robert* taking his intended iourney, deliuers the Child with his owne hand, to *Henrie* the first, King of *France*: whom before hee had mainely aided in preseruing his Crowne (left him by his father King *Roberts* Testament) against his elder brother, and his mother *Constance.* . . . And causing the Childe to doe homage for his Duchie of *Normandie,* commits him to his Royall faith; departs his Court, and shortly after his life, in *Asia.* [*History,* p. 24.]

Some of this material, of course, may reflect a reading of other sources; but in the following example Daniel is reorganizing material with which only the *Histoire* can have supplied him:

Le Duc Guillaume sentant ses forces estre moindres qu'il peust resister à celles de ces ennemis, il delibera à la ville de Fallaise, de fortifier ses places de frontiere et les munir de gens et des viures. . . . sans mettre armee en la campagne, sinon vn camp vollant. . . . De là [King Henry and Martel] vindrent à Bayeulx, puis à Caen pour passer de Dyue à Varrauille: car leur intention estoit destruire Auge, Lysieux, Roumois, iusques à Rouen. . . . pource que la chaussee estoit longue, et le pont de Dyue estroict, le Roy

From whence marching to *Bayeux,* and *Caen,* with purpose to passe the riuer *Diue* at *Varneuille,* to destroy the Countries of *Auge, Liseux,* and *Roumoys,* euen to *Roan*: and finding the case-way long, and the bridge narrow, caused his vantguard to passe ouer first: and, to secure his *Arierguard,* conducted by the Duke of *Berry,* himselfe stayes behind in *Caen,* till his people, and their carriages were passed. Duke *William,* who all this while, stores his fortresses with men and victuall, makes himselfe

ordonna passer les gens de son auantgarde par ordre. Et doubtant son arriere garde conduicte par le Duc de Berry, il demeura derriere en la ville de Caen, attendant que ses gens et bagages fussent passez. Le Duc Guillaume certioré de l'ordre que tenoit il Roy en ce passage, vint toute la nuict auec dix mil hommes. [*Histoire,* f. 89ᵛ.]

as strong in the Towne of *Falaise,* as he could; hath no army in the field, but a running campe to be readie to take all aduantages: lets the fury of the storme spend it selfe, and hauing aduertisement of this passage, marched all night with 10 thousand men. [*History,* p. 28.]

In a third case the *History* not only draws together data which occur in a different order in the *Histoire,* but discards irrelevant details and adds an original element:

Il [Robert Guiscard] eust de sa premiere femme Bohemont, et de sa seconde femme . . . eut vn fils nommé Roger. . . . Cestuy Bohemont fut à la conqueste de la terre saincte, auec Godefroy de Bouillon. Et par sa vertu il fut institué premier prince d'Antioche. . . . Il [Robert Guiscard] mourut en l'an 1087. . . . Il epousa laisnee fille de Gaumare, prince de Salerne. . . . Ledit Robert Guiscart eut . . . cinq filles, toutes noblement mariees. . . . Audit Robert Guiscart succeda Roger son aisné fils de sa seconde femme. [*Histoire,* ff. 92ʳ, 93ᵛ.]

Boemond his eldest sonne, by his first wife, became after Prince of *Antioch,* and is much renowned in the holy warres. *Roger* (of his second marriage with the daughter of the Prince of *Salerno*) succeeded in the States of *Italie,* as more theirs by birth and bloud. His daughters were all highly married; Thus from a priuate Gentleman, came this famous *Norman* to leaue a succession of Kings, and Princes after him, and died the same yeare as did this *William,* his concurrent in the loue and fauour of fortune. [*History,* p. 26.]

The transformation of "Il mourut en l'an 1087" into "died the same yeare as did this *William,* his concurrent in the loue and fauour of fortune" is Daniel's most striking innovation at this point; drawing what he would perhaps call an "inference", he links the fate of Robert Guiscard with the Conqueror's and suggests, if only by poetic implication, a kind of order in historical events.

Most of his expansions, however, are the result of piecing out his principal source with information drawn from other writers. In a passage on Robert Guiscard which immediately precedes the last one cited, for example, Daniel is clearly paraphrasing the *Histoire* rather than the shorter and less precise account of William of Jumièges; but to the facts supplied by the *Histoire* he adds that Robert relieved the Emperor Michael Diocrisius and defeated the usurper Nicephorus, information derived from none of the books in

which he might be expected to find it.[17] When he is summarizing Anglo-Norman rather than Norman history, his sources are more numerous and the extent of this contamination is harder to detect. It is best illustrated by an episode like the following, in which the *Histoire* is responsible for everything except one significant clause:

Henry leur frere n'auoit plus que boire, mais à manger assez. Henry pria son frere Robert luy donner à boire, lequel luy enuoya incontinent vn tonneau de vin, et si luy accorda trefues d'vn iour pour se rafreschir d'eau, et de ce dont il auoit besoing. Guillaume le Roux fut de cest octroy si marry, qu'il s'en voulut aller sans plus demeurer au siege. Robert luy pria ne le prendre à desplaisir, disant, qu'à son frere nul ne deuoit refuser à boire et à manger pour chose qu'il advint, quand luy mesmes le requeroit. Ainsi fut appaisé Guillaume le Roux, lequel manda Henry son frere venir parler à luy sur la greue, et illec par son moyen furent appointez Robert et Henry: parce que ledit Henry tiendroit Constantin pour gaige, tant que ledit Robert luy eust rendu ses deniers à certain terme que ledit Henry les deuoit venir querir à Rouen. [*Histoire*, f. 125^{r}.]

In the end *Henry* grew to extreame want of drinke and water; although he had all other prouision sufficient within his Fort, and sends to Duke *Robert* that he might haue his necessity suppplied: The Duke sends him a Tunne of Wine, and graunts him truce for a day to furnish him with water. Wherewith *William* being displeased, Duke *Robert* told him: *It was hard to deny a brother meate, and drinke which craued it, and that if he perisht, they had not a brother.* Wherewith *William* likewise relenting they sent for *Henry*, and an agreement is made; *That he should hold in morgage the Countrey of* Constantine, *till the money was paide, and a day appointed to receiue it at* Rouen. [*History*, p. 46.]

The words *"and that if he perisht, they had not a brother"* must have been added for their human and dramatic appropriateness; yet it is characteristic of Daniel that he adapts rather than invents them, in this case from William of Malmesbury's "et quem alium habebimus, si eum amiserimus?"[18]

The same fondness for an effective phrase is apparent in his telling of the well-known story of how William Rufus hurried from England to Normandy to relieve Le Mans, beleaguered by Helias de la Flêche. Again, Daniel goes to the *Histoire* for his basic account:

[17] *History*, p. 26; *Histoire*, f. 93^{r}; *Anglica*, p. 669. I do not know the source of Daniel's reference to the emperor.

[18] *Rerum Anglicarum Scriptores*, f. 68^{v}. Several of the English chronicles report Robert's words, but Daniel is closer to Malmesbury.

Ledit Helie auoit espousé vne ieune damoiselle, fille du Comte de Lombardie, et de la fille aisnee dudit Hebert Comte du Mans. Et pour ce tant à raison dudit transport qu'au droict de sa femme, il y pretendoit quelque chose. Ledit Helye n'eust esté assez hardi faire telle entreprinse, sans l'aide de gens et d'argent que luy faisoit Foucques d'Angers ancien ennemy des Ducs de Normandie. . . . Cependant [the partisans of William] enuoyerent vn messager en Angleterre, lequel trouua le Roy à Windesore prest pour aller chasser, et luy compta la prinse du Mans, Et comme ses gens s'estoyent retirez en ladite tour, qui demendoyent secours. . . . Et dit au messager, Va ten bien tost, et dis à mes gens qu'ils tennent fort, et que dedans huict iours ie les verray, si fortune de temps ne m'empesche. Adonc le Roy laissa son deduict de la chasse, et manda ses gens qui ne sçauoyent quelle part estoit situé le Mans. . . . [At Dartmouth] trouuant son nauire et gens prests voulut entrer en mer, mais les mariniers luy dirent: Sire, nous n'auons pas bon vent, il y a apparence de tourmente, il feroit bon seiourner. Le Roy dit, il faut partir, ie n'oys onc dire que Roy fut noyé en mer. . . . Adonc appareillerent les mariniers, et singlerent de vent à quartier tant qu'ils arriuerent à Barfleu au poinct du iour. Si tost que le Roy fut descendu il manda à ses capitaines et soldats de Normandie qu'ils vinssent à luy deuant le Mans. [*Histoire,* ff. 127ᵛ–128ᵛ.]

This one Act shewes both his violence and magnanimity: As he was one day hunting, a Messenger comes in all haste out of *Normandy,* and tels him how the Citty of *Mans* was surprised by *Hely* Conte *de la Flesche* (who by his Wife pretended right therunto, and was aided by *Fouques d'Angiers,* the antient enemy to the Dukes of *Normandy*) and that the Castle which held out valiantly for him, was, without present succour, to be rendered. He sends backe the Messenger instantly, wils him to make all the speed he could, to signifie to his people in the Castle, that he would be there within eight daies, if Fortune hindred him not. And sodainely he askes of his people about him, which way *Mans* lay. . . . when some aduised him to stay for fit prouisons, and people for his iourney, hee said; *They who loue mee, will follow me.* And comming to imbarke at *Dartmouth,* the Maister told him the weather was rough, and there was no passing without eminent danger; *Tush,* said he, *set forward, I neuer yet heard of King that was drowned.*

By breake of day he arriued at *Harfleu,* sends for his Captaines, and men of warre to attend him all at *Mans.* [*History,* p. 50.]

The very mistake of *"Harfleu"* for "Barfleu" reveals that Daniel is indebted to the *Histoire* (none of the other versions names the French port); but he has also made additions to this source. Although the introductory statement "This one Act shewes both his violence and

magnanimity" looks like an original inference, it is actually a modification of the words with which William of Malmesbury opens the same episode, "Veruntamen sunt quaedam de rege praeclare magnanimitatis exempla";[19] Daniel's originality consists in balancing the magnanimity of William Rufus with his violence and thus integrating the portrait. A more dramatic addition to the story, the King's boast *"They who loue mee, will follow me",* might seem to be another adaptation from Malmesbury, who reports, "Videbo inquit, quis me sequetur"; but here Daniel must recollect the same episode as it is more effectively expressed by Fabian, "suche as hym loued, he wyste well woulde folowe hym shortly", or as it is repeated from Fabian by Grafton or Holinshed.[20] In comparing the passage with its sources, then, we find evidence of skillful, painstaking inlay work and a regard for detail which is appropriate to a narrative as concentrated as the *History.*

One other example will suffice to illustrate this side of Daniel's method, an episode undoubtedly derived from the *Histoire,* although he both contracts and expands it:

Apres son [the Conqueror's] decés il fut par trois iours abandonné, sans qu'aucun pensast de sa sepulture, et entendoyent tous ses gens à piller tout son bon meuble. Le tiers iour Henry son fils puisné le fit porter à l'Abbaye de sainct Estienne de Caen, qu'il auoit fondee. . . . comme le corps entroit à Caen, le feu print à la ville, et incontinent les habitans commencerent à crier au feu par si grand effroy, que ceux qui portoyent le corps le laisserent pour aller au feu: et apres le feu destainct ils reuindrent porter le corps en l'Eglise. . . . Et comme ils le vouloyent inhumer apres le seruice fini, vn quiden se vint presenter au milieu d'eux, et dit tout hault: Ie vous deffends de par le Dieu tout-puissant et nostre sainct Pere le Pape qu'aucun

Three dayes the Corpes of this great Monarch is sayd to haue layne neglected while his seruants attended to imbessill his moueables: in the end, his yongest sonne *Henry,* had it conueyed to the Abbey of *Cane;* where first at the entry into the Towne, they who carried the Corpes, left it alone, and ran all to quench a house on fire: Afterward brought to be intombed, a Gentleman stands forth, and in sterne manner, forbids the interment in that place, claiming the ground to be his inheritance, descended from his Ancestors, and taken from him at the building of that Abbey, appealing to *Row,* their first founder, for Iustice: whereupon they were faine to compound with him for an Annuall rent. Such adoe had the body of him after

[19] *Rerum Anglicarum Scriptores,* f. 70[r].

[20] *Rerum Anglicarum Scriptores,* f. 70[r]; Robert Fabian, *The Chronicle* (London, 1559), I, 315; Richard Grafton, *The Chronicle, or History of England* (London, 1809), I, 176; Holinshed, *Chronicles,* III, 23. *They who love me follow me* seems to have become a stereotyped battle-cry; in Berners' translation of Froissart (*e.g.,* Book I, chap. 333) it appears in the account of events which occurred three centuries after William Rufus.

d'entre vous ne s'ingere mettre au terre ce corps: La raison est, que lors qu'il fonda ceste Eglise, il me tollit vne partie de la terre où elle est bastie, sans m'en faire aucune satisfaction, combien que ie n'en fusses proprietaire au droict de la succession de mes ancestres, et pour le tort qu'il m'en a fait i'en appelle deuant Dieu. . . . Et à l'instant composerent auec le quiden par soixante sols de rente annuelle, en recompense de son heritage. [*Histoire,* f. 121.]

death (who had made so much in his life) to be brought to the earth; and of all he attained, had not now a roome to containe him, without being purchased at the hand of another, men esteeming a liuing Dogge more then a dead Lyon. [*History,* pp. 42–43.]

The appeal to *"Row",* or Rou, rather than to God, raises a tantalizing little problem: since the other writers who describe the burial of William the Conqueror do not mention Rou at this point, the alteration must be Daniel's, but it is not clear whether he made it through error or calculation; he may have misread "Dieu", as written in his notes, as "Rou", or he may have seen the appropriateness of having the litigious Norman gentleman appeal for justice to the founder of the state rather than to the Deity. A larger departure from his source, however, appears in the sentence with which he brings this episode to a conclusion. There is no equivalent statement in the *Histoire;* vaguely similar reflections on William's death appear in Malmesbury and in the fragment of Ordericus which Camden made available in 1603; but Daniel has borrowed his moral from William of Newbury, who writes of the same episode: "Obstupuere omnes qui aderant, iudicio Dei, ad declarandam transitorie dominationis vanitatem, actum considerantes: vt Princeps potentissimus qui tam late dominatus fuerat viuus locum corporis sui capacem sine querela non haberet mortuus. Denique querela illa adeo mouit omneis: vt prius illi cani viuo, tanquam meliori, ad votum satisfacerent; ac deinde circa leonem mortuum iusta complerent."[21] It is noteworthy that while Daniel has omitted the religious flavor of Newbury's generalization, he retains the proverbial allusion to a living dog and a dead lion, good evidence of his affection for a telling phrase, and that he makes no other tangible use of Newbury in the *History.* He is too discriminating to take more than what he needs.

[21] *Rerum Anglicarum Libri Quinque* (Amsterdam, 1567), p. 4; the same passage was also available in *Rerum Britannicarum . . . Scriptores,* ed. Jerome Commelin (Lyons, 1587), p. 357. For Malmesbury and Ordericus see *Rerum Anglicarum Scriptores,* f. 63^{v}, and *Anglica,* p. 35.

The selective use of other sources is the method by which Daniel commonly expands material drawn from the *Histoire;* but it would be misleading not to return, for final illustration, to the expansions which are more peculiarly his own. These inferences and accretions of truthlikeliness appear immediately when we compare a passage like the following with its source:

Les François n'ayans . . . estaint l'enuie qu'ils portoyent à la nation des Normans qu'ils nommoyent par iniure truans, accuserent fausement les habitans et seigneurs de Normandie, enuers Henry Roy de France: luy mettant en teste que c'estoit grande faute à luy permettre à Guillaume, bastard et non legitime, occuper le pays de Normandie. Au moyen duquel conseil, auec ce qu'il estoit assez enclin à mal faire et vouloir aux Normans, Iceluy Henry leur promit et iura qu'il destruiroit le Duc Guillaume, et remettroit la Duché en la main dont anciennement elle estoit partie. Et pour ce faire il ordonna deux armees, l'vne qu'il enuoya par la riuiere de Saine, l'autre par le pays de Bessin. . . . Et si fit venir à luy tous les grands seigneurs et chefs de guerre de son Royaume, qui luy firent serment, et promirent chacun en son regard, exterminer ledit Guillaume le bastard. [*Histoire,* ff. 86^{v}–87^{r}.]

This match, and the ouer-matching his enemies, set him so high a marke of enuie in the eye of *France,* which naturally loued not the *Normans* (whom in reproach they vsually called *Trewans*) as they easily incensed their King, who of himselfe was forward enough, to abate a power, growne so out of proportion with the rest of the Princes of his Dominions, to finde a quarrell (which confiners easily doe) to set vpon him: and to make it looke the fairer, pretends to correct the insolencies of the *Normans* committed on his territories, and to releeue Count *Martel,* opprest by the Duke; besides alleadging, *It concerned him in honour and iustice, to haue that Prouince, which held of his Crowne, to bee gouerned by a Prince of lawfull bloud, according to Christian order and Lawes Ecclesiasticall:* And therefore resolueth vtterly to exterminate the Duke, and establish a legittimate Prince in the Dutchie. For which effect, two armies are gathered from all parts of his Kingdome; the one sent along the riuer *Sein,* the other into the Country of *Bessin.* [*History,* pp. 27–28.]

The references to *"Trewans"* and to the armies sent along the Seine and into Bessin make it clear that the *Histoire,* and not William of Jumièges or Thomas of Walsingham, is the source of this episode; yet Daniel's own additions also transform the tone of the *Histoire.* The play on the word *match* in the beginning, the attempt "to finde a quarrell (which confiners easily doe)", and the need for a legitimate duke *"according to Christian order and Lawes Ecclesiasticall"*

all emphasize an effect of continuity and breadth which hardly appears in the French, but characterizes the *History* as a whole.

But a more remarkable example of Daniel's independence occurs in another place, where he is paraphrasing a passage of the *Histoire* which describes the peaceful activities of Duke William in the years immediately before the conquest. The parallel accounts conclude:

Il delibera tost apres aller voir son cousin Edouard Roy d'Angleterre, qui le receut honnestement, et luy fit de grands presens. [*Histoire,* f. 91r.]

During this calme of his life, hee makes a iourney ouer into *England,* as if to visite King *Edward* his kinsman: who, in regard of the preseruation, and breeding hee had in *Normandy,* by Duke *Richard* the second (Grandfather to them both) gaue him most Royall entertainement: And here he shewed himselfe; and here (no doubt) hee found matter for his hopes to worke on. In this enteruiew hee discouered *England,* being to be presupposed, he came not to gather cockle-shels, on the shore. [*History,* pp. 28–29.]

Why Daniel's version is four times the length of the original is clear. He supplies the necessary circumstances behind Edward's gratitude, and for contrast with that worthy feeling he adds his own ironic commentary on William's motives: first by the vague insinuation of "as if"; then by the more definite implications of political ambition in "he shewed himselfe", "hee found matter for his hopes to worke on", "hee discouered *England*"; and finally by the well-calculated understatement that "he came not to gather cockle-shels, on the shore".

Thus the passages which Daniel wrote with his notes from the *Histoire* before him tell us a good deal about the method which he somewhat enigmatically describes at the beginning of the *History.* He has paraphrased so closely and at such length that one is tempted to call him merely a copyist; but he has also condensed, reorganized, and expanded this material with insertions out of other sources and reflections of his own, producing a skillful and characteristic summary. Daniel was both an historian and a poet; his *History of England,* unlike the vast compilations of Holinshed and Stow, was an attempt to reinforce the claims of truth with those of literary art.

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A Note on *Religio Medici* and some of its Critics*

Sir Thomas Browne has puzzled his critics. His high rank as one of the great writers of English prose is well established, but he has been read in different and sometimes incompatible ways. Professor Basil Willey, in his illuminating chapters on Browne in *The Seventeenth Century Background,* reminds us that "It is a romantic falsification to 'relish' Browne for his 'quaintness' ". This was the nineteenth-century tendency from the time when Lamb, Hazlitt, and Coleridge rediscovered him to the essays of Walter Pater (*Macmillan's* liv, 1886; *Appreciations,* 1889) and Sir Leslie Stephen (*Hours in a Library, Second Series,* 1876) at the close of the period. Pater uses the word *quaint* and also *humourist,* although he circumscribes each with definitions. Browne is quaint, says Pater, as these old writers themselves "understood the term (*coint,* adorned, but adorned with all the curious ornaments of their own predilection, provincial or archaic, certainly unfamiliar, and selected without reference to the taste or usages of other people)". But Sir Thomas Browne's style, or styles (for he varies his vocabulary, structure, and cadence according to the work in hand), was far less idiosyncratic in mid-seventeenth century than it seemed to the nineteenth. When he first wrote *Religio Medici* in 1635, or when he passed it for the press in 1642, no one had yet read Sprat's plea for a "return to a primitive shortness when men delivered so many things in almost an equal number of words"; Sprat's strictures on all "amplifications and swellings of style" were not printed till thirty years later. Sir Thomas Browne's style in *Religio Medici* is as distinctive as it is distinguished, but he cannot properly be said to choose his words "without reference to the taste or usages of other people". In his own time his style was not in any sense quaint although it was from the first individual.

Browne is a humorist, Pater continued (p. 131):

> in the old-fashioned sense of the term . . . —of the humourist to whom all the world is but a spectacle in which nothing is really alien from himself, who has hardly a sense of the distinction between great and little among things that are at all, and whose half-pitying, half-amused sympathy is called out especially by the seemingly small interests and traits of character in the things or the people around him.

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This may or may not be the old-fashioned sense of the term *humourist;* it is certainly misleading as a description of Sir Thomas Browne. If Browne does not distinguish between "great and little among things that are at all", this is not because "all the world is but a spectacle"; it is because all the world reveals the mind of God. He tells us (i. 15) that

> There are no *Grotesques* in nature; nor any thing framed to fill up empty cantons, and unnecessary spaces; in the most imperfect creatures, and such as were not preserved in the Arke, but having their seeds and principles in the wombe of nature, are every where, where the power of the Sun is; in these is the wisedome of his hand discovered: Out of this ranke *Solomon* chose the object of his admiration, indeed what reason may not goe to Schoole to the wisedome of Bees, Aunts, and Spiders? What wise hand teacheth them to doe what reason cannot teach us? ruder heads stand amazed at those prodigious pieces of nature, Whales, Elephants, Dromidaries and Camels; these I confesse, are the Colossus and Majestick pieces of her hand; but in these narrow Engines there is more curious Mathematicks, and the civilitie of these little Citizens more neatly sets forth the wisedome of their Maker.

Nor can we assent to Pater's suggestion that Sir Thomas Browne writes artlessly (p. 127):

> Hardly aware of the habit, he likes talking to himself; and when he writes (still in undress) he does but take the "friendly reader" into his confidence.

In each of Pater's remarks we recognize a grain of truth but also something that misleads. Browne's style is far from artless. We have only to set a paragraph of *Religio Medici* alongside one from any letter to his son to recognize that he is not writing in undress or as he talked; he had as much care for the euphony of his sentence as for its meaning; his rhythms as well as his figures of speech are carefully and elaborately wrought.

Sir Leslie Stephen in his essay on Sir Thomas Browne used the word *humor* or *humorist* no less than five times in twenty pages. His remark on *Religio Medici* (pp. 28 f.) sets the tone:

> If a humorist was to be denied the right of saying with a serious face what he does not quite think, we should make strange work of some of the most charming books in the world. The Sir Thomas Browne of the "Religio Medici" is by no means to be identified with the everyday flesh-and-blood physician of Norwich.

This seems almost the reverse of Pater's "Hardly aware of the habit, he likes talking to himself". Sir Leslie Stephen is describing a work of art, which is, of course, not a copy of the mind of the artist, not a

semi-conscious outpouring of it, but a careful distillation from it. Nevertheless the *Religio Medici* may tell us more of the "flesh-and-blood physician of Norwich" than if it had been an unpremeditated, uninhibited flow of self-communing. (We learn more, for example, of the real George Eliot from her novels, which are works of art, than from her artless and sometimes dreary journals.) And we mustn't, I think, be deceived by Sir Thomas Browne's own claim that he wrote the *Religio Medici* only for himself:

> This I confesse about seven yeares past, with some others of affinitie thereto, for my private exercise and satisfaction, I had at leisurable houres composed.

There is plenty of evidence that Sir Thomas Browne, like any other artist, had some kind of audience in mind. Jean-Jacques Denonain, in his learned edition of the *Religio* (Cambridge, 1953), edited from the manuscript copies and the early editions, refers to several original drafts, now lost, which Sir Thomas prepared for private circulation, to eight existing manuscripts, not in the doctor's hand, prior to the pirated edition of 1642; from 1643 onward the work was published no less than nine times during the author's life.

But if the nineteenth-century critics erred in supposing the author to be artless, quaint, and humorous, his contemporary critics erred in the opposite direction. They mistook the *Religio Medici* for a contribution to theological controversy. On the 19th of December 1642 the Earl of Dorset recommended the pirated edition of the *Religio* to Sir Kenelm Digby. Four days later, on the 23d of December, Sir Kenelm sent the earl his *Observations upon Religio Medici.* He admired and enjoyed the book but found it necessary to correct the doctor on a number of doctrinal points (*Religio Medici,* Oxford, 1909, p. 27):

> Assuredly he is owner of a solid head and of a strong generous heart. Where hee imployeth his thoughts upon such things as resort to no higher, or more abstruse *Principles* then such as occurre in ordinary conversation with the world, or in the common tracke of study and learning, I know no man would say better. But when hee meeteth with such difficulties as his next concerning the *Resurrection* of the body . . .

It is on such points as this that Sir Kenelm makes his observations. Sir Thomas had confessed that his "greener studies have beene polluted with two or three" heresies. Among these he describes that of the Arabians (i. 7):

> That the soules of men perished with their bodies, but should yet bee raised againe at the last day; not that I did absolutely conceive a mortality of the soule;

but if that were, which faith, not Philosophy hath yet thoroughly disproved, and that both entred the grave together, yet I held the same conceit thereof that wee all doe of the body, that it should rise againe. Surely it is but the merits of our unworthy natures, if wee sleepe in darkenesse, untill the last alarum: A serious reflex upon my own unworthinesse did make me backward from challenging this prerogative of my soule; so I might enjoy my Saviour at last, I could with patience be nothing almost unto eternity.

Sir Kenelm Digby—overlooking the fact that Sir Thomas describes this and other heresies, albeit lovingly, as beliefs he has put by—comments (p. 5):

if hee had traced the nature of the *Soule* from its first principles, hee could not have suspected it should sleepe in the grave till the *Resurrection* of the body.

The second heresy Sir Thomas had found alluring was that of Origen (i. 7):

that God would not persist in his vengeance for ever, but after a definite time of his wrath hee would release the damned soules from torture; Which error I fell into upon a serious contemplation of the great attribute of God, his mercy; and did a little cherish it in my selfe, because I found therein no malice, and a ready weight to sway me from that other extream of despaire, whereunto melancholy and contemplative natures are too easily disposed.

But, Sir Kenelm asserts (p. 5), it does not belong "to Gods mercy . . . to change its condition in those that are damned, from paine to happines. For where God should have done that, hee must have made that anguished Soule another creature then what it was." He goes on to explain that the damned soul is miserable as "a necessary effect of the temper it is in, when it goeth out of the *Body,* and must necessarily (out of its owne nature) remaine in, unvariably for all eternity". Somehow one feels that Sir Kenelm's *Observations* have missed the tone and intention of Sir Thomas Browne's essay. He has mistaken a description of the doctor's own mind and temperament for a contribution to theology. Yet this was what the doctor specifically refused to make. Far from delighting in controversy or wishing to promulgate heresies, he declared (i. 6):

I could never divide my selfe from any man upon the difference of an opinion, or be angry with his judgement for not agreeing with mee in that, from which perhaps within a few dayes I should dissent my selfe. I have no Genius to disputes in Religion, and have often thought it wisedome to decline them, especially upon a disadvantage, or when the cause of truth might suffer in the weaknesse of my patronage: where we desire to be informed, 'tis good to contest with men above our selves; but to confirme and establish our opinions,

'tis best to argue with judgements below our own, that the frequent spoyles and victories over their reasons may settle in our selves an esteeme, and confirmed opinion of our owne. Every man is not a proper Champion for Truth, nor fit to take up the Gantlet in the cause of Veritie: Many, from the ignorance of these Maximes, and an inconsiderate zeale unto Truth, have too rashly charged the troopes of error, and remaine as Trophees unto the enemies of Truth: A man may be in as just possession of a Truth as of a City, and yet bee forced to surrender; 'tis therefore farre better to enjoy her with peace, then to hazzard her on a battell.

This very backwardness in controversy aroused the anger of his other contemporary critic, Alexander Ross, a militant Aristotelian and Protestant, who was later to attack Browne's *Pseudodoxia* together with Bacon's *Natural History,* Harvey's *De generatione,* and other works that smelt, to him, of the new learning. Ross published in 1645 *Medicus Medicatus: or the Physicians Religion Cured by a Lenitive or Gentle Potion: with some Animadversions upon Sir Kenelme Digbie's Observations on Religio Medici.* Alexander Ross was not the man to let the doctor shelter behind an unwillingness to fight (p. 9):

Not to dispute against an Heretick, is not to fight against an enemy: Shall wee suffer the one to poyson our *soules,* and the other to kill our *bodies,* without resistance?

Sir Thomas Browne, in a preface to the authorized edition in 1643, having read Digby's observations, wrote:

There are many things delivered Rhetorically, many expressions therein meerely Tropicall, and as they best illustrate my intention; and therefore also there are many things to be taken in a soft and flexible sence, and not to be called unto the rigid test of reason.

But Ross will allow no such escape (p. 1):

Though the Author desires that his Rhetorick may not be brought to the test of reason, yet we must be bold to let him know, that our reason is not given to us in vaine: shall we suffer our selves to be wilfully blind-folded?

Unlike Sir Kenelm Digby, who was born a Roman Catholic and subsequently returned to that fold, Ross is particularly incensed by Sir Thomas Browne's sympathies with "Papists". To pray with Papists is, he says (p. 3), "a countenancing and a confirming of their Idolatry", "it is a scandall to the weaker brethren", it is hypocrisy, and so forth: "the sight of a *Crucifix* adored, should rather excite his indignation then his devotion".

Sir Thomas Browne had written (i. 6) that "in Divinity I love to keepe the road, and, though not in an implicite, yet an humble faith, follow the great wheele of the Church, by which I move, not reserving any proper poles or motion from the epicycle of my own braine". But, says Ross (p. 9), "so did not *Eliah* in his time, nor *Christ* and his *Apostles* in theirs: If the road be infested with theeves, holes or precipices, you were better ride about; the broad way is not still the best way". Everywhere Ross is more bitter than Digby, though he falls into the same mistake of supposing that Browne is promulgating the heresies he describes. Browne dilates on his former heresies because they indicate his taste and temperament. But both his contemporary critics treat these accounts as declarations of belief. Of Origen's heresy Ross writes (p. 14):

It's good to be wise with sobriety, and not to make God more mercifull then the *Scripture* makes him: it's sufficient that God hath freed some of *Adams* race from eternall fire, whereas hee might have damned all.

With Ross (but not with Digby) we sometimes feel that the misunderstanding is wilful. For example, Browne wrote (i. 9):

Some beleeve the better for seeing Christ his Sepulchre, and, when they have seene the Red Sea, doubt not of the miracle. Now contrary, I blesse my selfe and am thankeful that I lived not in the dayes of miracles, that I never saw Christ nor his Disciples; I would not have beene one of the Israelites that passed the Red Sea, nor one of Christs Patients on whom he wrought his wonders; then had my faith beene thrust upon me, nor should I enjoy that greater blessing pronounced to all that believe and saw not.

On this Ross impertinently comments (p. 16):

You blesse your selfe, and are thankfull, that you never saw Christ nor his Disciples. Was it because he or they, by curing all diseases freely, would have hindered your practice?

Here we feel he is cheap, but elsewhere he seems merely literal-minded, deaf to the various tones of lyricism or of humor which occur in the *Religio*. As to lyricism, it is interesting to find this ardent Aristotelian objecting as vehemently as Sprat against the use of metaphor; he says to Sir Thomas (p. 21):

But I see you delight in such fancies; for you define light, to be the shadow of God. . . . Such definitions are good for women and children, who are delighted with toyes; wise men search into the causes and natures of things.

When Ross attacks Browne for not being sure which is the right side of a man we suspect in him a lack of humor alongside his distaste for poetry. Browne had written (i. 21):

Whether *Eve* was framed out of the left side of *Adam,* I dispute not; because I stand not yet assured which is the right side of a man, or whether there be any such distinction in Nature: that she was edified out of the ribbe of *Adam* I believe, yet raise no question who shall arise with that ribbe at the Resurrection.

Ross solemnly asserts (p. 36):

The right side is that where the liver lyeth, which is the fountaine of bloud, wherein our life consisteth; therefore that side is stronger, and more active, and the limbs thereof bigger.

Whether or no the doctor's anatomical knowledge would have confirmed this is irrelevant. His discourse on Adam's rib forms part of a paragraph in which a number of such speculations are referred to only to be dismissed with a smile, since, as he says,

There are a bundle of curiosities, not onely in Philosophy but in Divinity, proposed and discussed by men of the most supposed abilities, which indeed are not worthy our vacant hours, much lesse our more serious studies; Pieces onely fit to be placed in *Pantagruels* Library.

Ross and Sir Kenelm Digby are men of very different tempers; they do not always choose the same passages to controvert, and when they do join one another in opposition to Sir Thomas, they display a different temper. The most significant example concerns Browne's generous regret that the virtuous heathen cannot, presumably, be saved. In *Religio Medici* Sir Thomas Browne wrote (i. 54):

There is no salvation to those that beleeve not in Christ, that is, say some, since his Nativity, and as Divinity affirmeth, before also; which makes me much apprehend the end of those honest Worthies and Philosophers which dyed before his Incarnation. It is hard to place those soules in Hell whose worthy lives doe teach us vertue on earth; methinks, amongst those many subdivisions of hell, there might have bin one Limbo left for these.

Following, however, as he sets out to do, the "great wheele of the Church", he closes the paragraph resignedly:

It will therefore, and must at last appeare, that all salvation is through Christ; which verily, I feare, these great examples of vertue must confirme, and make it good, how the perfectest actions of earth have no title or claime unto Heaven.

Yet, though he sails safely into port, he has ventured on dangerous seas and both Digby and Ross give chase. Digby is characteristically gentle and indeed leaves the heathen a ray of hope (pp. 25 f.):

I make no doubt at all, but if any followed . . . the dictamens of right *Reason,* but that their Iourney was secure to *Heaven.* . . . But it is most true; they are exceeding few, (if any) in whom *Reason* worketh clearly and is not overswayed by *Passion* and terrene affections; they are few that can discerne what is reasonable to be done in every circumstance. . . . And fewer, that knowing what is best, can win of themselves to doe accordingly.

Alexander Ross is *more suo* more self-assured and less gracious. He uncompromisingly welcomes the damnation of the heathen, but toys with the notion of an even deeper damnation for bad Christians (pp. 62 f.):

I cannot thinke it hard, if those worthy Heathens have no place in Heaven, seeing they had no interest in him, who with his bloud hath purchased Heaven to us . . . And how specious soever their lives and actions were in the eyes of men, yet without *Christ* they were nothing else but *splendida peccata,* glorious enormities: onely in this I can solace them, that it will be easier for them, (as it will be for *Sodome* and *Gomorrha,* [then] for *Tyre* and *Sidon*) in the last day, then for *Jewes* and *Christians,* who have knowne their Masters will, and have not done it: Fewer stripes remaine for *Socrates* a Heathen, then for *Julian* a Christian.

When Sir Thomas Browne returned to this theme sixteen years later, in *Urn Burial* (iv), he was able to point up his own doubt and to underline his own sympathies more clearly than in the *Religio,* while yet evading the charge of heresy. He evades it by starting with Dante and ending on a question mark:

Meanwhile *Epicurus* lyes deep in *Dante's* hell, wherein we meet with Tombs enclosing souls which denied their immortalities. But whether the virtuous heathen, who lived better than he spake, or erring in the principles of himself, yet lived above Philosophers of more specious Maximes, lye so deep as he is placed; at least so low as not to rise against Christians, who beleeving or knowing that truth, have lastingly denied it in their practise and conversation, were a quæry too sad to insist on.

Religio Medici was not a didactic work. Browne displays his own thought and feeling but does not attempt to dogmatize. Sir Kenelm Digby presupposes a didactic intention and consequently objects to Browne's autobiographical passages, such as references to the soundness of his body, to the probable length of his life, to the popes and emperors with whom he has been contemporary (p. 19):

What should I say of his making so particular a narration of personall things, and private thoughts of his owne; the knowledge whereof cannot much conduce to any mans betterment? (which I make account is the chiefe end of his writing this discourse).

I would suggest that this was not the chief end of Sir Thomas Browne's discourse and that his seventeenth-century critics were as much mistaken in thinking of Browne as a didactic writer as were his nineteenth-century critics in suposing him a quaint or humorous one. We come nearer to the truth if we remember Keats' account of the qualities that go to form "a man of Achievement, especially in literature . . . I mean Negative Capability, that is when a man is capable of being in uncertainties, mysteries, doubts, without any irritable reaching after fact and reason." I don't think Keats means that the man of achievement in literature doesn't seek the truth. When he writes *fact* and *reason* he means precisely those: as to truth, his letters show how earnestly he himself sought it, but he writes that he had "never yet been able to perceive how anything can be known for truth by consecutive reasoning". In *Religio Medici* Sir Thomas Browne seeks truth as an artist seeks it, not as a scientist does, nor a theologian. His virtue of charity is close to what Keats calls *Negative Capability*. Browne writes (ii. 1):

I am of a constitution so generall, that it consorts and sympathizeth with all things; I have no antipathy, or rather Idiosyncrasie, in dyet, humour, ayre, any thing; I wonder not at the *French* for their dishes of frogges, snailes, and toad-stooles, nor at the Jewes for Locusts and Grasse-hoppers, but being amongst them, make them my common viands; and I finde they agree with my stomach as well as theirs; I could digest a Sallad gathered in a Church-yard, as well as in a Garden. I cannot start at the presence of a Serpent, Scorpion, Lizard, or Salamander; at the sight of a Toad or Viper, I feele in me no desire to take up a stone to destroy them.

Even when Browne in the *Pseudodoxia* is ostensibly seeking to abolish false beliefs we are most struck with his reluctance to abandon any of them; he may know that phoenixes, unicorns, and centaurs do not exist, but he takes a lingering pleasure in dilating on them. If he seeks after fact and reason in that work he assuredly does not do so irritably. He is primarily a literary artist in all the works by which he is remembered and he chooses subjects which allow his mind to wander freely—vulgar errors, funeral urns, the quincunx—for (as he writes in the dedication of *The Garden of Cyrus*):

In this Multiplicity of Writing, bye and barren Themes are best fitted for Invention; Subjects so often discoursed confine the Imagination, and fix our

Conceptions unto the Notions of Forewriters. Beside, such Discourses allow Excursions, and venially admit of collateral Truths, though at some distance from their Principals.

Freedom to let the mind wander at large is what he seeks. As to the facts, we can demonstrate how readily he neglects them rather than spoil a passage of fine prose. In 1642 Browne's first son was born and his long, fruitful, happy marriage well begun. Yet he did not erase a sentence written in 1635 (ii. 9): "I was never yet once, and commend their resolutions who never marry twice", although M. Denonain's text reveals that the paragraph was carefully revised and small changes were made for euphony and to clarify the meaning. To our lasting pleasure Browne did not erase a passage incompatible with the facts of his life (ii. 9):

The whole woman was made for man, but the twelfth part of man for woman: man is the whole world, and the breath of God; woman the rib and crooked piece of man. I could be content that we might procreate like trees, without conjunction, or that there were any way to perpetuate the world without this triviall and vulgar way of coition . . . I speake not in prejudice, nor am I averse from that sweet sexe, but naturally amorous of all that is beautifull; I can looke a whole day with delight upon a handsome Picture, though it be but of an Horse.

In his will Browne left "to my deare wife, Dame Dorothie Browne, . . . all my goods whatsoever". He appointed her his sole executrix. It seems probable that, in 1642, she enjoyed the joke about the horse as much as we do, but Alexander Ross takes Browne to task for quarreling with this foolish way of perpetuating the world; tersely and piously (p. 77) he declares that God ordered it, so it can't be foolish.

The nineteenth-century critics went astray when they thought that Browne's writings were quaint and humorous, but perhaps their error was less radical than that of the contemporaries who mistook *Religio Medici* for a didactic work. Like Montaigne, Sir Thomas Browne is a man of achievement in literature. But fully to understand him we need to know something of the thought of his time. We turn gratefully to such works as Professor Willey's *Seventeenth Century Background* and *Sir Thomas Browne, a Study in Religious Philosophy,* by William P. Dunn, not because Browne is a theologian or a philosopher, but because he thinks and writes in the language of his time.

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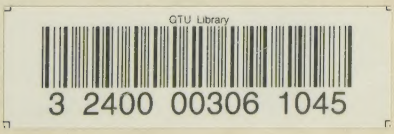
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